भारतीय आधुनिक शिक्षा राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् की एक त्रैमासिक पत्रिका है। इस पत्रिका का मुख्य उद्देश्य है शिक्षकों, शिक्षक-प्रशिक्षकों, शैक्षिक प्रशासकों तथा शोधकर्ताओं को एक मंच प्रदान करना, शिक्षा के विभिन्न आयामों जैसे - शिक्षादर्शन, शिक्षा मनोविज्ञान, शिक्षा की समकालीन समस्याएं, पाठ्यक्रम एवं प्राविधि संबंधी नवीन विकास, अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तर पर शिक्षा का स्वरूप, विभिन्न राज्यों में शिक्षा की स्थिति आदि पर मौलिक तथा आलोचनात्मक चिंतन को प्रोत्साहित करना और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सुधार और विकास को बढ़ावा देना।

लेखकों द्वारा व्यक्त किए गए विचार उनके अपने हैं तथा ये किसी भी प्रकार परिषद् की नीतियों को प्रस्तुत नहीं करते।

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विषय सूची

अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के शिक्षार्थियों की शैक्षिक लब्धि

जय नारायण मिश्र

प्राध्यापक, प्रशिक्षण विभाग
रतनसेन महाविद्यालय बांसी
सिद्धार्थनगर, उ. प्र.

अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम एक राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम है जिसमें व्यक्ति, परिवार, समाज, और देश से संबंधित विविध प्रकार के विकासोन्मुखी शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम आते हैं। प्राथमिक शिक्षा के पूरक के रूप में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत गोरखपुर में ग्यारह परियोजनाएं संचालित हैं।

विभिन्न अध्ययनकर्ताओं द्वारा अनौपचारिक शिक्षा की स्थिति, प्रगति एवं समस्याओं के विषय में अध्ययन किए गए हैं, किन्तु इस कार्यक्रम के विद्यार्थियों की शैक्षिक लब्धि से संबंधित अध्ययन नहीं हो पाए हैं। इस शोध में लेखक ने अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत बालक एवं बालिकाओं की भाषा, सामाजिक विषय, विज्ञान एवं गणित विषय में लब्धि का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन किया है। इसमें लेखक ने यह पाया कि अध्ययनरत शिक्षार्थियों की भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान में शैक्षिक लब्धि अच्छी नहीं है। इन विषयों में बालिकाओं की स्थिति बालकों की अपेक्षा असंतोषजनक अधिक है। गणित में प्रतिभागियों की लब्धि अपेक्षाकृत संतोषजनक है।

अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम एक राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम है। इसे औपचारिक शिक्षा के संपूरक के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। इसके क्रियान्वयन हेतु एक सुनिश्चित व्यवस्था अनौपचारिक शिक्षा केंद्र से लेकर राष्ट्रीय स्तर तक निर्धारित है, जिसका नियोजन विकेंद्रित प्रणाली के आधार पर ग्राम स्तर पर किया जाता है। वर्ष 1978 में किए गए चतुर्थ सर्वेक्षण के आधार पर जिन विकास खण्डों को शिक्षा की दृष्टि से पिछड़ा इंगित किया गया था, उनका अवरोही क्रम में चयन करके वहां 1980-81 में प्राइमरी स्तर के अनौपचारिक शिक्षा केंद्र स्थापित किए गए। वर्ष 1987 में इस योजना में संशोधन किया गया और वर्तमान में यह संशोधित स्वरूप में संचालित है। अध्यापकों द्वारा बाल गणना कराई जाती है। इस गणना से इस बात की जानकारी होती है कि गांव के कौन-कौन बालक अथवा बालिका निरक्षर हैं अथवा किस-किस ने विद्यालय जाना छोड़ दिया है। इस गणना के आधार पर गांवों का चयन अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत किया जाता है। दूसरे शब्दों में कहा जा सकता है कि जिन गांवों में निरक्षर अथवा शाला त्यागी बालक/बालिकाओं (6-14 वर्ग) की संख्या अधिक होती है उन्हीं गांवों में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा केंद्र खोले जाते हैं।

अनौपचारिक शिक्षा योजना के अंतर्गत प्राथमिक स्तर के पांच वर्षीय पाठ्यक्रम को संघनित कर दो-वर्षीय पाठ्यक्रम के रूप में तैयार किया गया है। इसमें भाषा, सामाजिक विषय, तथा सामान्य विज्ञान एवं गणित आदि का समावेश किया गया है। पूरा पाठ्यक्रम चार सत्रों में विभाजित है। प्रथम वर्ष के विद्यार्थियों को 'ज्ञानदीप-भाग एक' प्रथम छमाही एवं द्वितीय छमाही तथा द्वितीय वर्ष के विद्यार्थियों को 'ज्ञानदीप-भाग दो' प्रथम छमाही एवं द्वितीय छमाही अध्ययन के लिए दी जाती है। इन पाठ्य पुस्तकों का लेखन, पुन: निरीक्षण एवं संशोधन राज्य शैक्षिक अनुसंधान एवं प्रशिक्षण परिषद् उ. प्र., लखनऊ द्वारा राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् नई दिल्ली के अनुमोदन के उपरांत किया जाता है।

पूर्व अध्ययनों की समीक्षा

चिकरमेन (1966) ने अपने अध्ययन में अनिवार्य शिक्षा हेतु बालकों एवं बालिकाओं की आयु सीमा 11 वर्ष निर्धारित

की। चिकरमेन संभवत: ऐसे प्रथम अध्ययनकर्ता हैं जिन्होंने विद्यालय जाने वाले बच्चों हेतु अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के लिए कार्य-प्रधान शोध योजना तैयार की। चौथी कक्षा स्तर शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के उपरांत पढ़ाई छोड़ने वाले और किसी सेवा अथवा कृषि कार्य में संलग्न होने वाले 12 से 17 वर्ष की आयु के बच्चों के लिए उन्होने सायंकालीन सतत् शिक्षा कक्षाओं को संचालित करने के लिए सुसंरचित कार्यक्रम का विकास किया।

ऐकारा (1979) ने बंबई के झोपड़ पट्टी में स्कूल के बाहर बच्चों की आवश्यकताओं का अध्ययन किया। इस अध्ययन में स्पष्ट किया गया कि अभिभावक व्यावसायिक प्रशिक्षण से युक्त साक्षरता कार्यक्रमों में अपने बच्चों को भेजने के लिए सामान्यत: इच्छुक थे। वे शाम के समय मातृभाषा के माध्यम से कक्षाओं को संचालित कराना चाहते थे।

दवे (1981) ने राजस्थान में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा के क्रियान्वयन की स्थितियों का सर्वेक्षण किया और पाया कि शिक्षण केंद्रों पर 85 प्रतिशत बच्चों के नामांकन में से मात्र 20 प्रतिशत बच्चों ने ही अतिरिक्त सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक उत्सवों को मनाना पसन्द किया। साथ ही 76 प्रतिशत बच्चों ने अनौपचारिक शिक्षा की ही भांति परीक्षा संपन्न किया जाना स्वीकार किया।

अलख (1984) के अध्ययन के परिणामों से ज्ञात हुआ कि अधिकांश ग्रामवासी चेतना एवं रुचि के अभाव के कारण अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के प्रति उदासीन थे। पाठ्य विषय, पाठ्य उद्देश्य एवं निष्पादन स्तरों के बीच कोई संबंध नहीं पाया गया। अनुदेशकों को समुचित निर्देशन एवं प्रशिक्षण नहीं दिया गया। प्राय: समस्त शिक्षण केंद्रों पर औपचारिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापक कार्यरत थे।

राज्य लक्ष्मी (1989) के अध्ययन का प्रमुख निष्कर्ष इस प्रकार था – अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत शिक्षा प्राप्त करने वाले प्रतिभागियों में अधिकांश कृषि व्यवसाय एवं श्रमिक वर्ग के थे। अनुदेशकों में चौथाई से कम महिलाएं थीं तथा अधिकांश अनुदेशक कम आयु वर्ग के थे। कार्यपुस्तिका, मानचित्र, चार्ट, ग्लोब लपेटन एवं श्यामपट्ट आदि शिक्षण सामग्रियों की व्यवस्था किसी भी शिक्षण केंद्र पर नहीं थी।

अध्ययन की आवश्यकता

गोरखपुर पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश का एक महत्वपूर्ण जनपद एवं मण्डल मुख्यालय है। प्राथमिक शिक्षा के पूरक के रूप में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत यहां वर्तमान में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा की कुल 11 परियोजनाएं संचालित हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त पहले से संचालित तीन परियोजनाएं विगत वर्ष अन्य जनपदों में स्थानांतरित कर दी गईं जिनके कुछ शिक्षण केंद्र अभी चल रहे हैं। इस प्रकार जनपद में कुल 1288 शिक्षण केंद्रों पर लगभग 31882 विद्यार्थी प्रथम वर्ष अथवा द्वितीय वर्ष में अध्ययनरत हैं।

विभिन्न अध्ययनकर्ताओं द्वारा देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा की स्थिति, प्रगति एवं समस्याओं के विषय में अध्ययन किए गए हैं, किन्तु इस कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत पाठयक्रम पूर्ण कर रहे विद्यार्थियों की शैक्षिक लब्धि से संबंधित अध्ययन नहीं हुआ था। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में भी इस प्रकार का अध्ययन संभव नहीं हो सका था। अत: इस क्षेत्र को प्राथमिकता देते हुए इस कार्यक्रम के शिक्षार्थियों की शैक्षिक लब्धि पर अध्ययन किया गया।

अध्ययन का उद्देश्य

यह अध्ययन निम्नलिखित विशिष्ट उद्देश्यों को दृष्टि में रखकर संपन्न किया गया:

- ❑ अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत शिक्षार्थियों की भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान में उनकी लब्धि ज्ञात करना।
- ❑ अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत बालक एवं बालिकाओं की भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान में लब्धि का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करना।
- ❑ अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों की गणित विषय में लब्धि ज्ञात करना।
- ❑ अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत बालकों एवं बालिकाओं की गणित विषय में लब्धि का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करना।

अध्ययन में प्रयुक्त उपकरण

अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत संचालित पाठ्यक्रम के आधार पर भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान तथा गणित विषयों में लब्धि ज्ञात करने के लिए दो शैक्षिक लब्धि परीक्षणों का निर्माण तथा मानकीकरण किया गया। भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान लब्धि परीक्षण का विश्वसनीयता गुणांक 0.82 तथा गणित लब्धि परीक्षण का विश्वसनीयता गुणांक 0.86 रहा। परीक्षण की वैधता विशेषज्ञों की सहमति एवं विश्वसनीयता गुणांक के आधार पर निर्धारित की गई। साथ ही इन परीक्षणों का प्रतिशतांक मानक भी ज्ञात किया गया। परीक्षण के अंतर्गत अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के पाठ्यक्रम हेतु निर्धारित पाठ्यपुस्तकों 'ज्ञानदीप -भाग एक' तथा 'ज्ञानदीप - भाग दो' से दोनों परीक्षणों में विभिन्न आयामों से संबंधित क्रमशः 76 एवं 46 प्रश्नों को अंतिम रूप में सम्मिलित किया गया।

प्रयुक्त सांख्यिकीय विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में मात्र प्रतिशत, मध्यमान एवं उनके अंतर की सार्थकता ज्ञात करने के लिए क्रांतिक अनुपात के आधार पर प्रदत्तों का विश्लेषण किया गया।

न्यादर्श चयन

अध्ययन से संबंधित जनसंख्या के अंतर्गत गोरखपुर जनपद में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत संचालित सभी परियोजनाओं के समस्त 31882 शिक्षार्थी आते हैं किन्तु अध्ययन की सुविधा के लिए परियोजनाओं में से यादृच्छिक विधि से चार परियोजनाओं खोराबार, जंगलकौडिया, भटहट एवं बेलघाट का चयन किया गया। प्रत्येक परियोजना के लगभग 100 शिक्षण केंद्रों में से मात्र 15 शिक्षण केंद्रों का यादृच्छिक विधि से चयन किया गया। प्रत्येक चयनित शिक्षण केंद्र से 15 प्रतिभागियों का सुविधानुसार चयन किया गया। इस प्रकार $(4 \times 15 \times 15)$ कुल 900 शिक्षार्थियों का अध्ययन हेतु चयन किया गया।

शिक्षण केंद्रों पर समूह में प्रतिभागियों से सम्पर्क करके लब्धि परीक्षणों का प्रशासन किया गया तथा अध्ययन हेतु प्रदत्तों का संकलन किया गया।

प्रदत्तों का विश्लेषण

भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान व गणित लब्धि परीक्षणों में शिक्षार्थियों ने जो उत्तर दिया उन पर आधारित प्राप्तांकों का विवरण, तालिका 1,2,एवं 3 के अंतर्गत प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

प्रदत्तों का निरीक्षण एवं विवेचन

दोनों परीक्षणों में बालक एवं बालिकाओं के तालिका 1, 2 एवं 3 में प्रदर्शित प्राप्तांकों के वितरण के अवलोकन से निम्नलिखित विशेषताएं प्रकट होती हैं :

भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान में प्राप्तांकों के वितरण की विशेषताएं

समस्त बालकों एवं बालिकाओं के मध्यमान क्रमशः 38.6 एवं 30.5 हैं तथा इनके प्रामाणिक विचलन क्रमशः 10.4 एवं 12.8 हैं। सम्मिलित शिक्षार्थियों के मध्यमान एवं प्रामाणिक विचलन क्रमशः 34.8 एवं 12.3 हैं। सभी शिक्षार्थियों के अंकों पर आाधारित वैषम्य सूचकांक .30 तथा कुकुदता सूचकांक .282 हैं (तालिका1)। इन मध्यमानों से स्पष्ट होता है कि शिक्षार्थियों की लब्धि भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान परीक्षण में संतोषजनक नहीं हैं। इस परीक्षण में अधिकतम अंक 76 निर्धारित थे जिसके कारण परीक्षण का मध्य बिंदु 38 प्राप्त हुआ। प्राप्त मध्यमान इस बिंदु से नीचे स्थित है जो बालिकाओं की असंतोषजनक लब्धि को प्रदर्शित करता है। बालकों की लब्धि का मध्यमान मध्यबिंदु से निकट स्थित है, इसलिए बालकों की लब्धि को संतोषजनक कहा जा सकता है। प्राप्तांकों के वितरण में .30 वैषम्य सूचकांक यह प्रदर्शित करता है कि आधे से अधिक शिक्षार्थियों ने कम अंक प्राप्त किए हैं। तालिका 1 में दिए गए आवृत्ति वितरण को देखकर भी इसकी पुष्टि हो जाती है। बालकों एवं बालिकाओं के प्राप्तांकों में भिन्नता का स्तर भी सामान्य है।

तालिका 1

भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान उपलब्धि परीक्षण में शिक्षार्थियों के अंकों का वितरण—
मध्यमान, प्रामाणिक विचलन, वैषम्य एवं कुकुदता सूचकांक

वर्गांतर	बालकों की आवृत्ति	बालिकाओं की आवृत्ति	सम्मिलित आवृत्ति
11-15	06	42	48
16-20	22	56	78
21-25	33	84	117
26-30	29	29	58
31-55	82	111	193
36-40	102	15	117
41-45	88	27	115
46-50	63	14	77
51-55	34	15	49
56-60	08	14	22
61-65	13	13	26
योग	480	420	900
मध्यमान	38.6	30.5	34.8
प्रा. विचलन	10.4	12.8	12.3
वैषम्य			.35
कुकुदता			.282

भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान में कम उपलब्धि, शैक्षिक एवं मानसिक क्षमता की दृष्टि से संप्रेषण योग्यता के साथ सामाजिक एवं राष्ट्रीय जागरूकता का बोध होता है। ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों द्वारा भारतीय संस्कृति तथा सामान्य विज्ञान द्वारा जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं और दैनिक जीवन में घटित होने वाली सामान्य घटनाओं का ज्ञान होता है, इन विषयों में कम लब्धि के प्रमुख कारण हो सकते हैं, जैसे विषय अध्ययन में अरूचि, पाठ्यक्रम का जटिल होना, अध्ययन से संबंधित सहायक सामग्री का अभाव आदि। कम आयु में इन विषयों के प्रति रुचि सहायक सामग्री के माध्यम से जाग्रत की जा सकती है। प्राय: देखा जाता है कि इन विषयों का अध्यापन व्याख्यान अथवा अमनोवैज्ञानिक विधियों से किया जाता है। इसलिए शिक्षार्थियों को इन विषयों की सम्यक जानकारी नहीं मिल पाती।

गणित परीक्षण में प्राप्तांकों के वितरण की विशेषताएं

गणित परीक्षण में बालकों एवं बालिकाओं के मध्यमान क्रमश: 27.9 एवं 23.7 हैं तथा प्रामाणिक विचलन क्रमश: 9.1 और 9.8 हैं। सभी शिक्षार्थियों के मध्यमान एवं प्रामाणिक विचलन क्रमश: 25.9 तथा 9.7 हैं (तालिका 2)। इस परीक्षण के लिए अधिकतम अंक 46 निर्धारित थे। इस दृष्टि से इनके मध्यमान का मूल्य इसके मध्य बिंदु 23 से ऊपर स्थित है।

तालिका 2

गणित लब्धि परीक्षण में प्रतिभागियों के प्राप्तांकों का वितरण–मध्यमान, प्रामाणिक विचलन, वैषम्य एवं कुकुदता सूचकांक

वर्गांतर	बालकों की आवृत्ति	बालिकाओं की आवृत्ति	सम्मिलित आवृत्ति
6-10	14	13	27
11-15	55	113	168
16-20	34	70	104
21-25	75	128	103
26-30	89	85	174
31-35	96	55	151
36-40	96	29	125
41-45	21	27	48
योग	480	420	900
मध्यमान	27.9	23.7	25.9
प्रा. विचलन	9.1	9.8	9.7
वैषम्य सूचकांक			−1.25
कुकुदता सूचकांक			.319

इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि अधिकांश शिक्षार्थियों की गणित में लब्धि संतोषजनक है। वैषम्य सूचकांक−1.25, यह प्रदर्शित करता है कि लगभग अधिकतम अंक पाने वाले प्रतिभागी अधिक हैं। कुकुदता सूचकांक .319 यह प्रदर्शित करता है कि कुछ वर्गांतरों में लगभग समान आवृत्ति होने के कारण चपटी कुकुदता हो गई है।

गणित में अधिक अंक पाना वास्तव में संतोष का विषय है। गणित वैज्ञानिक विषयों का आधार है। इसके साथ ही इसका व्यावहारिक महत्व है। दैनिक जीवन में भाषा के बाद सबसे अधिक प्रयोग गणित का होता है। प्राय: देखा जाता है कि जो विद्यार्थी गणित में अच्छे अंक प्राप्त करता है उसका परीक्षाफल सामान्यत: अच्छा होता है। उसमें समस्या समाधान की योग्यता स्वत: विकसित होती है।

प्रतिभागियों की शैक्षिक लब्धि का तुलनात्मक विवरण

अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत बालकों एवं बालिकाओं की शैक्षिक लब्धि के मध्यमानों के अंतर की सार्थकता हेतु ज्ञात किए गए क्रांतिक अनुपात का मान तालिका 3 में प्रदर्शित है। भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान परीक्षण तथा गणित परीक्षण हेतु क्रांतिक अनुपात का मान क्रमश: 10.33 एवं 6.64 है जो 0.01 स्तर पर सार्थक है। दोनों क्रांतिक अनुपात शैक्षिक लब्धि में बालकों की श्रेष्ठता का संकेत करते हैं। अधिकांश ग्रामीण अभिभावक आज भी बालिकाओं की शिक्षा के प्रति उदासीन हैं। यदि वे बालिकाओं को अध्ययन हेतु शिक्षण केंद्रों पर भेजते हैं तो भी उन पर

तालिका 3

परीक्षणों में शिक्षार्थियों के मध्यमान, प्रामाणिक विचलन एवं क्रांतिक अनुपात का मान

समूह	संख्या	मध्यमान	प्रा. विचलन	क्रांतिक अनुपात
(भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान)				
बालक	480	38.6	10.4	
बालिकाएं	420	30.5	12.8	10.3*
(गणित)				
बालक	480	27.9	9.1	
बालिकाएं	420	23.7	9.8	6.6*

*.01 स्तर पर सार्थक।

घरेलू दायित्वों का बोझ बनाए रखते हैं। परिवार में बच्चों की देखभाल करना, घर की सफाई एवं परिवार के भोजन आदि की व्यवस्था करने में उन्हें सहयोग प्रदान करना होता है। इस प्रकार बालिकाओं का अधिक श्रम एवं समय उक्त दायित्वों के निर्वाह में लग जाता है जिससे बालिकाओं की शैक्षिक लब्धि कम होना स्वाभाविक है।

गोरखपुर जनपद में अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत अध्ययनरत शिक्षार्थियों की भाषा, सामाजिक विषय एवं विज्ञान में शैक्षिक लब्धि अच्छी नहीं है। इन विषयों में बालिकाओं की स्थिति बालकों की अपेक्षा असंतोषजनक अधिक है। गणित में प्रतिभागियों की लब्धि अपेक्षाकृत संतोषजनक है। दोनों परीक्षणों में बालकों की शैक्षिक लब्धि बालिकाओं की तुलना में अच्छी है। उनके मध्यमानों के अंतर क्रांतिक अनुपात के मान .01 स्तर पर सार्थक हैं।

□□

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सच्ची शिक्षा बालक और बालिकाओं के लिए बेकारी के विरुद्ध एक प्रकार का बीमा होनी चाहिए।

❑ महात्मा गांधी

गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का अध्ययन

कमलेश कुमार चौधरी

प्रवक्ता, शिक्षा विभाग
रुहेलखण्ड विश्वविद्यालय
बरेली, उ. प्र.

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों का तात्पर्य स्थापित आवासीय एवं निःशुल्क जवाहर नवोदय विद्यालयों से है। इस लेख में लेखक ने यह अध्ययन करने की चेष्टा की है कि इन विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में लिंग भेद, शहर/ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि तथा कला/विज्ञान वर्ग के आधार पर अंतर है या नहीं। इसके निष्कर्ष अन्य प्रकार के विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर से संबंधित अध्ययनों के निष्कर्षों से भिन्न हैं।

शिक्षा मानव जीवन के विकास की आधार शिला है। शिक्षा से ही व्यक्ति की पहचान एक बौद्धिक एवं सुसंस्कृत मानव के रूप में होती है। मनुष्य में सामाजिक गुणों को विकसित करने एवं उसके दृष्टिकोण को विस्तृत बनाने में शिक्षा की महती भूमिका को अस्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता। शिक्षा एक ऐसा आधार है, जिस पर किसी समाज या राष्ट्र की प्रगति निर्भर करती है। राष्ट्रीय विकास में शिक्षा की महती भूमिका को स्वीकार करते हुए कोठारी कमीशन ने कहा है कि "भारत के भाग्य का निर्माण इस समय उसके अध्ययन कक्षों में हो रहा है। स्कूल से निकलने वाले विद्यार्थियों की योग्यता और संख्या पर ही राष्ट्रीय पुनर्निर्माण के इस महत्वपूर्ण कार्य की सफलता निर्भर करेगी जिसका प्रमुख लक्ष्य हमारे रहन-सहन के स्तर को ऊंचा उठाना है।''

शिक्षा को सर्वसुलभ बनाने एवं इसकी गुणवत्ता में बृद्धि हेतु समय-समय पर गठित विभिन्न आयोगों द्वारा सुझाव दिए गए हैं इन सुझावों के क्रियान्वयन का प्रयास भी किया गया है। जिससे बिना किसी बाधा के प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को शिक्षा के माध्यम से अपने समुचित विकास का अवसर उपलब्ध हो सके। इसके बावजूद आज भी शिक्षा की गुणवत्ता में एकरूपता लाने एवं इसे सर्वसुलभ बनाने के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सका। परिणामतः अनेक प्रतिभाशाली बालक एवं बालिकाएं समुचित शैक्षिक सुविधाओं के अभाव में अपनी प्रतिभा के विकास से वंचित होते जा रहे हैं। इस तथ्य को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 1986 में इस बात पर जोर दिया गया कि "जिन बच्चों में विशेष प्रतिभा या अभिरुचि हो, उन्हें अच्छी शिक्षा उपलब्ध करवाकर अधिक तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ने के अवसर दिए जाने चाहिए। उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति जैसी भी हो, उन्हें ऐसे अवसर मिलने ही चाहिए।'' इन्हीं उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति हेतु आवासीय एवं निःशुल्क गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों की स्थापना का सुझाव दिया गया। इन विद्यालयों के अनेक उद्देश्यों में एक प्रमुख उद्देश्य 'ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों तथा समाज के कमज़ोर वर्ग में पाए जाने वाले प्रतिभावान विद्यार्थियों को प्रोत्साहित करना, प्रतिभावान विद्यार्थियों के सम्पूर्ण विकास के लिए उत्तम आधुनिक शिक्षा उपलब्ध कराना है।' इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में यह विचार है कि निर्धनता एवं अच्छे विद्यालयों की अनुपलब्धता के कारण कोई भी प्रतिभावान बालक अपने विकास के अवसर से वंचित न रह जाए।

राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 1986 के सुझावों के अनुसार ही गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के रूप में जवाहर नवोदय विद्यालयों के नाम से आज भारत के 23 राज्यों एवं 7 संघ शासित प्रदेशों

में कुल 388 विद्यालय कार्यरत हैं। इन विद्यालयों में अध्ययन हेतु विद्यार्थियों का चयन प्रवेश परीक्षा के आधार पर होता है जिसमें अधिकांश स्थान ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में निवास करने वाले प्राथमिक पाठशाला से कक्षा 5 उत्तीर्ण करने वाले विद्यार्थियों के लिए आरक्षित होता है। ऐसा भी प्रयास किया जाता है कि इन विद्यार्थियों में कम से कम एक तिहाई बालिकाओं को प्रवेश मिल जाए। ये विद्यालय निःशुल्क एवं आवासीय हैं। अतः इन विद्यालयों में अध्ययन करने वाले विद्यार्थियों की सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि में विविधता का पाया जाना स्वाभाविक है। विभिन्न अध्ययनों के परिणाम ऐसा दर्शाते हैं कि ये सभी कारक किसी न किसी प्रकार से विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर को प्रभावित करते हैं। अतः यह जानने की आवश्यकता प्रतीत हुई कि इन गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के उन विद्यार्थियों में जिन्होंने यहां पर अध्ययन करते हुए तीन-चार वर्ष व्यतीत कर लिए हैं और जिन्हें एक जैसी उत्कृष्ट शैक्षिक सुविधाएं उपलब्ध हैं, उनका शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर कैसा है। इनके शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में लिंग भेद और पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि (शहरी / ग्रामीण) इत्यादि के आधार पर अंतर है अथवा नहीं?

उपलब्ध तत्संबंधी साहित्य पर दृष्टिपात करने से विदित होता है कि विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर से संबंधित कुछ अध्ययन हुए हैं, यथाविष्ट (1972) ने अपने अध्ययन में पाया कि छात्रों की अपेक्षा छात्राओं का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर कम था। भण्डारकर (1977) ने निष्कर्ष निकाला कि क्षेत्र तथा घर के वातावरण का शैक्षिक एवं व्यावसायिक आकांक्षा स्तर पर प्रभाव पड़ता है। साधना कुमारी (1981) ने अपने अध्ययन में पाया कि छात्र एवं छात्राओं के आकांक्षा स्तर में सार्थक अंतर है। जसूजा (1983) ने निष्कर्ष निकाला कि लिंग के आधार पर विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर को जानने का प्रयास किया गया है, किन्तु इनमें से कोई अध्ययन ऐसा नहीं है, जो गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों से संबंधित हो। अतः इस जिज्ञासा की पूर्ति हेतु अध्ययन किया गया कि इस विशिष्ट प्रकार के उत्कृष्ट शैक्षिक सुविधाओं से युक्त निःशुल्क एवं आवासीय विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर कैसा है इनके शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में लिंग भेद तथा शहरी एवं ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के आधार पर विभिन्नता है अथवा नहीं ?

पत्रों की परिभाषा

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों का तात्पर्य राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 1986 के सुझावों के अनुरूप स्थापित आवासीय एवं निःशुल्क जवाहर नवोदय विद्यालयों से है जिनका संचालन नवोदय विद्यालय समिति करती है। इस अध्ययन में विद्यार्थियों का तात्पर्य सत्र 1994-95 में इन्हीं विद्यालयों में कक्षा 9 एवं 10 में अध्ययन करने वाले विद्यार्थियों से है। इसी क्रम में शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर को एक प्रकार की संज्ञानात्मक अभिप्रेरणा के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। इसमें व्यक्ति अपने कार्य करने के अनुमान के आधार पर एक निश्चित शैक्षिक स्तर को प्राप्त करने की प्रत्याशा रखता है।

अध्ययन के उद्देश्य

- ❑ गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर की जानकारी प्राप्त करना।
- ❑ शहरी एवं ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के आधार पर गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का अध्ययन करना।
- ❑ लिंग भेद के आधार पर गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का अध्ययन करना।
- ❑ गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का कला एवं विज्ञान वर्ग के आधार पर अध्ययन करना।

परिकल्पना

- ❑ शहरी एवं ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के आधार पर गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में अंतर नहीं है।
- ❑ गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर लिंग भेद से प्रभावित नहीं है।
- ❑ गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत कला एवं

विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में अंतर नहीं है।

अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में शोध की वर्णनात्मक विधि को अपनाया गया है। इस अध्ययन में पांच गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के सत्र 1994-95 में कक्षा 9 व 10 में अध्ययनरत समस्त विद्यार्थियों को समग्र या जनसंख्या माना है। इनमें से 200 विद्यार्थियों का चयन सोद्देश्य न्यादर्शन विधि द्वारा न्यादर्श के रूप में किया गया है। इसमें 150 विद्यार्थी ग्रामीण तथा 50 विद्यार्थी शहरी पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के हैं।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में दत्त संकलन हेतु वी.पी. शर्मा और अनुराधा गुप्ता द्वारा निर्मित शैक्षिक आकांक्षा मापनी (फार्म पी) को प्रयोग में लाया गया है। प्रदत्तों से निष्कर्ष निकालने हेतु मध्यमान, मानक विचलन और टी-मान की गणना की गई है।

विश्लेषण, व्याख्या एवं परिणाम

तालिका 1 पर दृष्टिपात करने से विदित होता है कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत कुल विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का मध्यमान 27.48 एवं मानक विचलन 5.74 पाया गया। यह अध्ययन विद्यार्थियों के उच्च शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का द्योतक है। तालिका 1 से ही विदित होता है कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत शहरी एवं ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का मध्यमान क्रमशः 27.90 एवं 27.33 तथा मानक विचलन क्रमशः 5.81 एवं 5.72 पाया गया। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि शहरी पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर से अच्छा था, साथ ही शहरी पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा का स्तर में ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के विद्यार्थियों की अपेक्षा अधिक असमानता थी। इन दोनों समूहों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर

तालिका 1

गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का विवरण

समूह का नाम	विद्यार्थियों की संख्या	मध्यमान	मानक विचलन	टी-मान
ग्रामीण विद्यार्थी	150	27.33	5.72	0.61
शहरी विद्यार्थी	50	27.90	5.81	
कुल विद्यार्थी	200	27.48	5.74	

तालिका 2

लिंग भेद के आधार पर गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का विवरण

समूह का नाम	विद्यार्थियों की संख्या	मध्यमान	मानक विचलन	टी-मान
छात्र	122	26.84	5.76	1.95
छात्राएं	78	28.41	5.48	

का मध्यमान, विद्यार्थियों के उच्च शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर को व्यक्त करता है। इन दोनों समूहों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का टी-मान 0.61 पाया गया। यह टी-मान 0.05 स्तर पर सार्थक नहीं है। अत: शून्य परिकल्पना अस्वीकार नहीं की गई और इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकला कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में उनके शहरी/ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के आधार पर अंतर नहीं है।

तालिका 2 को देखने से विदित होता है कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत छात्रों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का मध्यमान एवं मानक विचलन क्रमश: 26.84 एवं 5.76 तथा छात्राओं के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का मध्यमान एवं मानक विचलन क्रमश: 28.41 एवं 5.48 पाया गया। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि छात्राओं के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में छात्रों की अपेक्षा अधिक समानता थी। छात्रों एवं छात्राओं दोनों ही समूहों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का यह मध्यमान इनके उच्च शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का द्योतक है। इन दोनों समूहों के बीच टी-मान 1.95 पाया गया। यह टी-मान 0.05 स्तर पर सार्थक नहीं है। फलत: शून्य परिकल्पना अस्वीकार नहीं की गई। इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकला कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में लिंग भेद के आधार पर अंतर नहीं है।

तालिका 3 से ज्ञात होता है कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत कला वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का मध्यमान 27.42 विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर के मध्यमान 27.63 से कम एवं मानक विचलन 5.79, 5.64 से अधिक पाया गया। अत: स्पष्ट है कि विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर कला वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों से अधिक था, साथ ही विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर मे कला वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों की अपेक्षा कम असमानता थी। इन दोनों समूहों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का मध्यमान, उच्च शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का द्योतक है इन दोनों समूहों के मध्य टी-मान 0.32 पाया गया। यह टी-मान 0.05 स्तर पर सार्थक नहीं है। अत: शून्य परिकल्पना अस्वीकार नहीं की गई। इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकला कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत कला एवं विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में समानता थी।

निष्कर्ष

- गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर उच्च था।
- ग्रामीण तथा शहरी पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के आधार पर गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में असमानता नहीं थी।
- लिंग भेद के आधार पर गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में अंतर नहीं था।
- गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत कला एवं विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में असमानता नहीं थी।

तालिका 3

गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत कला एवं विज्ञान वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर का विवरण

समूह का नाम	विद्यार्थियों की संख्या	मध्यमान	मानक विचलन	टी-मान
कला वर्ग	120	27.42	5.79	0.32
विज्ञान वर्ग	80	27.63	5.64	

सुझाव

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन के निष्कर्षों से विदित होता है कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों का शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर उच्च है। साथ ही इन विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्ष स्तर में लिंग भेद, शहरी/ग्रामीण पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि तथा कला/विज्ञान वर्ग के आधार पर अंतर नहीं है। इससे यह संकेत मिलता है कि गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों की स्थापना के पीछे जो एक उद्देश्य यह था कि जिन बालकों में विशेष प्रतिभाएं हैं, उनकी पारिवारिक एवं आर्थिक स्थिति जैसी भी हो, उन्हें आगे बढ़ने का अवसर दिया जाना चाहिए, इस लक्ष्य की प्राप्त की ओर ये विद्यालय अग्रसर हैं। अत: आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इन विद्यालयों में अध्ययनरत विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर के अनुरूप उपलब्धि स्तर को लाने हेतु हर संभव प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए। गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालय लक्ष्य प्राप्ति की ओर अग्रसर हैं, अत: यथासंभव अधिक से अधिक गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों की स्थापना की जानी चाहिए। साथ ही इन विद्यालयों की सुविधाओं में विस्तार करके विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर को और उच्च बनाने एवं उसके अनुरूप उपलब्धि स्तर को प्राप्त करने का प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए।

गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों के अतिरिक्त अन्य प्रकार के विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर से संबंधित जो अध्ययन हुए हैं, उनके निष्कर्ष इस अध्ययन के निष्कर्षों से भिन्न हैं। यथा - साधना कुमारी, जसूजा तथा विष्ट ने अपने अध्ययनों में पाया कि लिंग भेद के आधार पर विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में अंतर है। भण्डारकार ने निष्कर्ष निकाला कि घर एवं क्षेत्र के वातावरण का शैक्षिक एवं व्यावसायिक आकांक्षा स्तर पर प्रभाव पड़ता है। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि इन विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में अंतर है। अत: प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए कि अन्य प्रकार के विद्यालय गतिनिर्धारक विद्यालयों को आदर्श के रूप में स्वीकार कर लें और इनसे प्रेरित होकर यथासंभव अपने विद्यालयों में भी ऐसा वातावरण बनाने की ओर अग्रसर हों। इससे ये विद्यालय विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर को उच्च बनाने, विभिन्न आधारों पर विद्यार्थियों के शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर में व्याप्त असामानता को दूर करने तथा शैक्षिक आकांक्षा स्तर के अनुरूप उपलब्धि स्तर को लाने में सक्षम हो सकेंगे। ❑❑

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सामाजिक मूल्य निर्माण एवं पाठ्य पुस्तकें

हरिश्चंद्र व्यास

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यदि कहा जाए कि आज की शिक्षा प्रणाली परीक्षा और पाठ्य पुस्तकों पर आधारिल है तो अतिशयोक्ति न होगी। स्वतंत्र भारत में पाठ्य पुस्तकों के निर्माण, उनकी प्रामाणिकता, आकर्षण, पठन-सुलभता तथा सुग्राह्यता को लेकर अनेक गवेषणाएं हुई हैं। विभिन्न स्तरों पर विचार विमर्श के फलस्वरूप पाठ्य पुस्तकों में विषय वस्तु, प्रस्तुतीकरण तथा बाह्य आवरण की दृष्टि से अनेक नए प्रयोग किए गए हैं ताकि उन्हें विचारों के आदान-प्रदान का सशक्त माध्यम बनाया जा सके । प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने विविध उदाहरणों द्वारा यह स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया है कि किस प्रकार विद्यालय स्तर पर प्रचलित हमारी पाठ्य पुस्तकें अपनी विषय वस्तु के माध्यम से छात्रों में सामाजिक मूल्यों के निर्माण में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रही हैं ।

शताब्दियों की अग्नि परीक्षा में खरे उतरने वाले मूल्य ही शाश्वत और चिरंतन होते हैं। वे कल भी प्रासंगिक रहेंगे। ये मूल्य मानवता की मणियां हैं, आत्मा के वैभव हैं और दिव्यता के प्रकाश स्तंभ हैं। शिक्षा का सरोकार समाज से है। यदि उसे इन जीवन मूल्यों का सहारा मिल जाए तो उसके नाभिकुण्ड में अमृत छलक उठेगा । ऐसी शिक्षा पीढ़ियों को संस्कारित कर सकती है ।

शैशव में बच्चे का मन एकदम निर्मल होता है- एक कंचनवर्णी झील की तरह। न इसमें कीचड़ होता है और न जलकुंभी। साफ स्फटिक होता है उसका मन। उसमें ताज़गी,ऊर्जा, जिज्ञासा होती है और वह संसार को समझना चाहता है । इस समय कच्ची मिट्टी में जो संस्कार पड़ जाएं, वे जीवनपर्यन्त बनें रहते हैं। यदि उसके मानस पर सत्य,प्रेम, परोपकार और अहिंसा की छाप पड़ जाए ; नम्रता पवित्रता और सहानुभूति का अंकन हो जाए ; सेवा,सादगी और करुणा जैसी भावनाएं अंकुरित हो जाएं ; देश-प्रेम, त्याग और बलिदान जैसे विचार घर कर लें तो ये संस्कार अल्पकालिक न होकर दीर्घजीवी होंगे ; जीवनपर्यंत उसका साथ देंगे । ये वे मानव मूल्य हैं जिनका कोई विकल्प नहीं । बच्चे के विकास के साथ-साथ मूल्यों के चिंतन का भी विकास होता है। मूल्यों की तालिका इतनी महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है जितनी आस्थाएं हैं और जब आस्था होगी तो बच्चा हो, किशोर हो या युवा – वह हमारी सांस्कृतिक धरोहर को सर्वोच्च सम्मान देगा ; लोकतंत्र और धर्म निरपेक्षता की भावनाओं को अपनाएगा ; स्त्री-पुरुषों के बीच समानता के भाव रखेगा ; सामाजिक समरसता और सीमित परिवार का पक्षधर बनेगा , वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि रखेगा और पर्यावरण के संरक्षण के लिए हर संभव चेष्टा करेगा । शांति, सहचर्य और विश्व कल्याण उसके आदर्श होंगे ।

प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या पाठ्य पुस्तकें इन जीवन मूल्यों का संचार करने में समर्थ हैं ? और यदि हैं तो किस हद तक? उनकी पहुंच कहां तक हैं और वे कहाँ तक बच्चों को प्रभावित कर सकती हैं? सवाल पाठ्य पुस्तकों की सामर्थ्य का है । पलट कर जवाब दिया जा सकता है कि यदि अन्य (श्रेष्ठ) पुस्तकें ऐसा कर सकती हैं तो पाठ्य पुस्तकें क्यों नहीं कर सकतीं? उनमें कुछ ऐसी विशेषताएं हैं जो अन्य पुस्तकों में प्राय: नहीं होतीं । एक तो यह कि वे सर्वसुलभ हैं ; गांव-गांव, ढाणी-ढाणी में बच्चे -बच्चे के हाथ में है । प्रसार और प्रभाव साथ-साथ नहीं चल सकते हों ; ऐसी तो कोई बात नहीं है। बात तो पाठ्य सामग्री की है ; प्रस्तुति की है। वह अच्छी हो तो प्रभाव भी वैसा ही होगा और यदि अच्छी न हो तो पाठ्य-पुस्तक

ही क्यों, कोई भी पुस्तक प्रभाव नहीं डाल सकती। दूसरी विशेषता इनके चयन को लेकर है। इन्हें बड़ी सावधानी से लिखा जाता है, समय और समाज की मांग को ध्यान में रखा जाता है, लेखन के बाद संशोधन होता है, बारीकी से मूल्यांकन किया जाता है और तब बच्चों के हाथ में थमाया जाता है। छपने के बाद भी यदि बदलाव की आवश्यकता हो तो नए संस्करण में संशोधन, परिवर्तन और परिवर्द्धन भी किए जाते हैं। छान-बीनकर और सूक्ष्म अवलोकन करके वे सारे अंश निकाल दिए जाते हैं जो किसी भी शाश्वत जीवन मूल्य के विरोध में हल्की सी ध्वनि भी पैदा करते हों। राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति (1986) के लागू होने के बाद तो देशभर की पाठ्य पुस्तकों का एक ऐसा बारीक मूल्यांकन किया गया है जो उन्हें संगति और प्रामाणिकता देने वाला हो। अन्य पुस्तकों के साथ ऐसा नहीं है।

तीसरी विशेषता यह है कि पाठ्य पुस्तकों के लिए कोई भी सरकार देश की जनता के प्रति जवाबदेह है जबकि अन्य पुस्तकों पर यह पाबंदी नहीं होती । पाठ्य पुस्तकें अपेक्षाकृत सस्ती होती हैं। इन्हें सचित्र और रोचक बनाने के प्रयास बराबर चलते रहते हैं। कहीं बोझिल न हो जाएं, इसके लिए सावधानी बरती जाती है और जरूरत पड़े तो गुणवत्ता के आधार पर एक से अधिक पाठ्य पुस्तकें भी लागू की जाती हैं ताकि बच्चों को विकल्प की सुविधा रह सके। इन सभी मर्यादाओं में से निकल कर जो पाठ्य पुस्तकें सामने आती हैं क्या वे जीवन मूल्यों से विलग रह सकती हैं ? ऐसी कौन सी पाठ्य पुस्तक हो सकती है भला,जो सत्य,प्रेम और देशभक्ति के स्थान पर झूठ, द्वेष और देशद्रोह की भावना फैलाती हो, ईमानदारी की जगह बेईमानी का पक्ष लेती हो अथवा लोभ, क्रोध, दंभ और दुष्टता को आदर्श मानकर चलती हो। फिर यह बावेला क्यों है कि पाठ्य पुस्तकें जीवन मूल्यों का संचरण नहीं करतीं। यदि नहीं कर सकती तो दोष पुस्तकों से कहीं ज्यादा प्रणाली का है, परिवेश का है, परिस्थितियों का है।

आज़ादी की लड़ाई के लिए पूरा देश जाग गया था। क्या पाठ्य पुस्तकों का उसमें कोई सहयोग नहीं था ? क्या कारण है कि लोग आज तक रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर द्वारा लिखी गई बंग्ला की पाठ्य पुस्तकों को याद करते हैं? चक्रवर्ती की गणित,नेशफील्ड की ग्रामर, उडले स्टाम्प की भूगोल, हॉल और स्टीवन्स की ज्योमिति, नोबेल पुरस्कार विजेता पॉल सेमुअलसन के अर्थशास्त्र और दूसरे नोबेल पुरस्कार विजेता फेमैन के भौतिक शास्त्र को लोग क्यों याद करते हैं ? ये सारी किताबें हिन्दी भाषा में नहीं हैं। हिंदी माध्यम की अनेक ऐसी पाठ्य पुस्तकें हैं जिनका नाम स्मरण करते ही हमारी आँखों में चमक आ जाती है । पाठ्य पुस्तकों की आलोचना भले ही कर लें - और वह आलोचना सही भी हो सकती है-पर संसार का एक भी सभ्य देश ऐसा नहीं है जहां पाठ्य पुस्तकें न हों। जापान की पाठ्य पुस्तकें यदि देशप्रेम की भावना कूट-कूट कर भर सकती हैं तो भारत की पाठ्य पुस्तकें भला ऐसा क्यों नहीं कर सकतीं ?

अब व्यावहारिक पक्ष पर आया जाए। पहले भाषा, गणित, सामाजिक ज्ञान और सामान्य विज्ञान की बात करें। उदाहरण देने से पहले मोटे तौर पर संक्षेप में कहा जा सकता है कि भाषा की पाठ्य पुस्तकें हमारी संवेदना का विस्तार करती हैं। विज्ञान की पुस्तकें अनुभव के नए क्षितिज खोलती हैं। प्रयोगधर्मिता और सत्य की शोध की भावनाएं भरती हैं। गणित की पाठ्य पुस्तकें तार्किकता की ओर ले जाती हैं। इतिहास की पुस्तकें दृष्टि की प्रखरता,भूगोल की पुस्तकें एक विश्व-परिवार के प्रति आस्था,नागरिक शास्त्र की पुस्तकें दायित्व बोध और देशप्रेम की भावना तथा पर्यावरण ज्ञान की पुस्तकें चराचर सृष्टि,जीव-जगत और वनस्पति जगत के साथ मानव जीवन के संबंधों को उजागर करती हैं । ये सब कहीं न कहीं किसी न किसी प्रकार से जीवन मूल्यों से जुड़ी हुई हैं । जीवन मूल्य एक मधुवृक्ष के समान हैं और शिक्षा का काम उसकी जड़ों को सींचना और उसे पल्लवित किये रखना है। यह सद्काम पाठ्य पुस्तकों के माध्यम से संभव है। उन्हें ही यह बीड़ा उठाना है कि मशीनी युग में रहते-रहते इंसान की सोच भी कहीं यंत्रवत न बन जाए ; वह मूल्यों से विरक्त होकर कहीं आत्मकेन्द्रित न हो जाए और सांस्कृतिक विभिन्नता के देश में कहीं सांस्कृतिक दरिद्रता न फैल जाए।

भाषा की पाठ्य पुस्तकों पर बात करते समय सबसे पहले प्राथमिकी पर ध्यान जाता है। बच्चों के सामने अक्षरों के फाटक खुलते ही 'अ' से अनार, 'आ' से आम, 'इ' से इमली, 'ई' से ईख, 'म' से मछली, 'झ' से झरना आदि आ जाता है । पर्यावरण की यात्रा तो यहीं से शुरू हो जाती है। बच्चे

के सामने जलचर,नभचर और थलचर सभी हैं, पेड़-पौधे और फल-फूल हैं, पहाड़, नदियां और झरने हैं और इन सबके बीच वह अपने मन को इन सबके साथ जोड़ता चला जाता है। उसकी संवेदना का, उसकी करुणा का विस्तार होता जाता है। मेरे सामने हिंदी भाषा की एक पुस्तक है – कक्षा छह की। इसमें 'जन-जन भारत' (सुमित्रानंदन पंत), 'शहीदों के खूनी हस्ताक्षर' (गोपाल प्रसाद व्यास) और 'झांसी की रानी' (सुभद्रा कुमारी चौहान) की कविताएं हैं। क्या इन कविताओं के माध्यम से देशप्रेम, त्याग, उत्सर्ग, साहस, निर्भयता, आत्मविश्वास और स्वातंत्र्य प्रेम जैसे जीवन मूल्यों का विकास नहीं होता ? सूरदास का पद - ' कृष्ण का बालपन' क्या वात्सल्य भाव पैदा करने में समर्थ नहीं है ? सांप्रदायिक सद्भाव और मैत्री की दृष्टि से प्रेमचंद की कहानी 'ईदगाह' दी गई है। पर्यावरण का पक्ष 'वर्षा की विदाई', 'मैं पेड़ हूँ' और 'गिल्लू' (महादेवी वर्मा) में उजागर हुआ है जो उदारता, त्याग और सेवा जैसे जीवन मूल्यों को विकसित करता है। इस पुस्तक में गुरु नानक,भगवान बुद्ध और संत तिरूवल्लुवर के प्रेरक प्रसंग हैं, उत्तरी ध्रुव पर विजय जैसी साहसिक यात्रा का वृत्तांत है , हार या जीत संबंधी अशोक के प्रायश्चित का नाटक है, स्वावलंबी बनो जैसे पाठ है तथा ओलंम्पिक की कहानी जैसी खेल कथा है। क्या ये पाठ बच्चों में अहिंसा, अपरिग्रह, ईमानदारी, प्रेम, करुणा, उदारता, दृढ़ता, साहस, सहिष्णुता,क्षमा और स्वावलंबन के भाव नहीं भरते ? इसके अलावा इस पुस्तक में और कुछ नहीं है। भाषा की पुस्तकों का यह तो एक नमूना मात्र है।

गणित वस्तुनिष्ठता और तार्किकता का विकास करता है। किसी जमाने में ऐसे प्रश्न आते थे - दस आदमी अगर इतना काम करते हों जितना 15 औरतें करती हैं तो बताओ 18 आदमी कितनी औरतों के बराबर काम करेंगे ? यह प्रश्न स्त्री और पुरुषों में असमानता की बात करता है। आज किसी भी गणित की पुस्तक में ऐसे सवाल नहीं आते। मैंने कई गणित की पुस्तकें देखी हैं जिनमें जनसंख्या वृद्धि पर प्रश्न हैं, स्वरोज़गार पर प्रश्न हैं,। पर्यावरण (पशु-पक्षियों, पेड़ों) संबंधी सवाल हैं । क्या ये पुस्तकें जीवन मूल्यों की दृष्टि से नहीं लिखी गई हैं ?

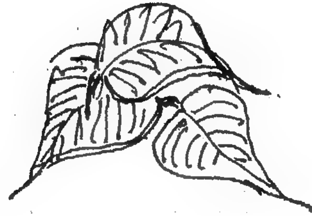
विज्ञान की पाठ्य पुस्तकें जिज्ञासा,सत्य का शोध, नियमितता और सृजनशीलता के जीवन मूल्यों पर आधारित रहती हैं। मानवता का कल्याण इनका प्रमुख लक्ष्य है। उदाहरण दें तो अनेक हैं। वैसे ये तथ्य अपने आप में 'स्वयं सिद्ध' हैं और यह सब जानते हैं कि जीवन के प्रति वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि के विकास में विज्ञान की पुस्तकें कितनी समर्थ हैं। भूगोल में एक ही पृथ्वी और एक ही आकाश है। विश्व अपने आप में एक परिवार है। ये सब हमें जीवन मूल्यों से जोड़ने वाली बातें हैं। इतिहास के शिवाजी हों या राणा प्रताप, अकबर हो या अशोक, राजा राममोहन राय हो या स्वामी दयानंद, महात्मा गांधी हो या बाल गंगाधर तिलक - हमारे सामने जीवन मूल्यों के अंबार खड़े कर देते हैं। कहीं दृढ़ता ,धैर्य, सदाचार और समानता के भाव सामने आते हैं तो कहीं ईमानदारी, आत्मानुशासन, और गतिशीलता है, कहीं देशप्रेम और उत्सर्ग है तो कहीं समाजसेवा और श्रमनिष्ठा है । बालक के मानस पटल पर ये मूल्य अपना स्थाई अंकन कर सकते हैं। नागरिक शास्त्र उत्तरदायित्व, प्रजातंत्र और विश्व बंधुत्व के प्रति हमें उन्मुख करता है । संस्कृत और अंग्रेजी के कुछ पाठों के शीर्षक देखिए - 'भारतस्य महापुरूषाः' 'नागरिकानां कर्त्तव्यानि, 'आदर्श परिवार', 'मित्र संलाप', 'पर्यावरण प्रदूषण' आदि तथा दूसरी ओर 'लिटल गर्ल्स वाइज़र दैन मैन' (टॉलस्टॉय) 'द पोस्ट मास्टर' (टैगोर) 'ए जर्नी टु मून' 'लैटर टू चिल्ड्रन ऑफ इंडिया' (नेहरू) आदि। यदि ये पाठ भी जीवन मूल्यों का विकास नहीं कर सकते तो भला कौन से पाठ कर सकेंगे?

मूल्य जब तक मन में न रमे, आत्मा का साक्षात्कार न करें तब तक उनका कोई मूल्य नहीं होता। यही कारण है कि पाठ्य पुस्तकों में उपदेशों के स्थान पर पाठ्य सामग्री में से ही मूल्य निसृत हों- ऐसी चेष्टा रहती है। यदि कहीं नहीं है तो होना चाहिए क्योंकि मूल्य न तो थोपे जा सकते हैं और न पदार्थ की तरह हस्तांतरित ही किए जा सकते हैं। धरती पवित्र होती है तो बीज अंकुरित हुए बिना नहीं रह सकता। गंगोत्री से जो भी गंगा निकलेगी वह कल्याण ही करेगी। ऐसे में पाठ्य पुस्तकों की उपादेयता और बढ़ जाती है। तभी वे डॉ. राधाकृष्णन की उस भावना की कद्र कर सकेंगी जो इन शब्दों में व्याख्यित है - "जो भी शिक्षा दी जा रही है उसे व्यापक ही नहीं गहरा भी होना चाहिए। हममें गहराई की कमी है। हम चाहे विद्वान या कुशल व्यक्ति क्यों

न बन जाएं लेकिन यदि हमारे सामने कोई उद्देश्य नहीं होगा तो, हमारा जीवन कटुता, अंधकार और गलतियों से भरा होगा।" शिक्षा की गहराई , और जीवन का उद्देश्य. जीवन मूल्यों से जुड़ी हुई बातें हैं।

राधाकृष्णन आयोग ने छात्र-छात्राओं को बुद्ध, ईसा, मोहम्मद, कन्फुशियस, बोरेस्टर, सुकरात, कबीर, नानक आदि के बारे में परिचय कराने तथा विश्व के महान ग्रंथों की जानकारी देने आदि का परामर्श दिया था। माध्यमिक शिक्षा आयोग ने इतिहास शिक्षण में विश्व के महान धर्मों और ग्रंथों की जानकारी देने की बात कही। श्रीयुत श्री प्रकाश समिति ने पूर्व प्राथमिक से लेकर शिक्षा के सभी सोपानों पर जीवन मूल्यों के समावेश की अनुशंसा की। नई शिक्षा नीति (1986) ने तो यहां तक माना है कि समूची शिक्षा ही नैतिकता (जीवन मूल्यों) की शिक्षा है। उसके अनुसार जो (बातें) हमारी राष्ट्रीय धरोहर, राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्य और वैश्विक अवबोध पर आधारित हैं शिक्षा में उन्ही बिंदुओं को प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए।

पाठ्य पुस्तकों को इन सभी मानकों पर खरा उतरना हैं। यदि नहीं उतर पाईं तो इतिहास, युग और भविष्य कोई भी उन्हें क्षमा नहीं करेगा। ❑❑



बच्चा ऐसी पुस्तक है जिसे शिक्षक को आद्यंत पढ़ना पड़ता है।

❑ रूसो

बालक के सर्वांगीण विकास में स्काउटिंग का योगदान

रमेशचंद्र पारीक

केंद्रीय विद्यालय संख्या 1
मोती डूंगरी, अलवर, राजस्थान

छात्र विद्यालय में रहकर अनेक चारित्रिक गुणों एवं अवगुणों को ग्रहण करते हैं। छात्र का चारित्रिक विकास, मानसिक उन्नयन, संवेदनात्मक व शारीरिक संवर्द्धन इस बात पर निर्भर करता है कि विद्यालय का वातावरण कैसा है। यह वातावरण कुछ हद तक प्रभावित होता है विद्यालय के विभिन्न कार्यकलापों की गुणवत्ता से। स्काउटिंग बालक के सर्वांगीण विकास में अपने अनेक रोचक कार्यक्रमों के माध्यम से सकारात्मक भूमिका निभाती है। स्काउटिंग बालक के शारीरिक विकास के साथ-साथ उनके चरित्र का निर्माण भी करती है। प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने स्काउटिंग की विस्तृत एवं विविध गतिविधियों का बड़े ही रोचक ढंग से उल्लेख किया है।

बॉय स्काउट आंदोलन के संस्थापक, विश्व के चीफ स्काउट एवं गिलवेल के लार्ड बेडन पावेल, जिन्हें सब स्काउट प्रेमवश बी० पी० कहते हैं, द्वारा सन् 1907 से प्रारंभ स्काउटिंग आंदोलन आज अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर का एक सक्रिय संगठन बन चुका है। इस आंदोलन के माध्यम से विश्व के करोड़ों बालक, युवा व वृद्ध जुड़े हुए हैं। हमारे देश में भारत स्काउट व गाइड एसोशियेसन राष्ट्रीय स्तर का संगठन है जो देश के तमाम हिस्सों के विद्यार्थियों के सर्वांगीण विकास को गतिशील बनाए रखने में सहयोग प्रदान कर रहा है। भारत स्काउट व गाइड आंदोलन एक ऐसा क्रियात्मक व व्यावहारिक आंदोलन है जो तीन वर्ष से पच्चीस वर्ष तक के बालकों का विविध चरणों, सोपानों, आयामों व स्तरों में प्रशिक्षण के माध्यम से उनके ज्ञान, समझ, कौशल एवं अधिगम बोध में सतत् बढ़ोत्तरी करके महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रहा है। आजकल हर शहर, गांव, बस्ती व विद्यालयों में स्काउट गाइड गतिविधियाँ संचालित हो रही हैं। स्काउटिंग गतिविधियों में सहयोग करना या इस प्रवृति का संचालन करना एक पुनीत कार्य है। स्काउटिंग एक ऐसी सक्रिय, रोचक गतिविधि है, रोमांचक व बाहरी खेल है, जो हमेशा सतर्क, चुस्त, दुरुस्त बनाए रखती है। सेहत व तन्दुरुस्ती का पूरा ख्याल रखती है।

विविध गतिविधियां

स्काउटिंग की विस्तृत एवं विविध गतिविधियां हैं। इसके सुनियोजित कार्यक्रम हैं एवं सुव्यवस्थित पाठ्यक्रम हैं जो बच्चों की आयु, स्तर व क्षमता के अनुकूल हैं। ये उनके सर्वांगीण विकास के चरणबद्ध सोपान व बढ़ते कदम हैं। इनमें नियम, प्रतिज्ञा, अभिवादन का गहरा दायित्व बोध समाहित है। प्रतिदिन एक भलाई का कार्य करने का संकल्प व आदत अपने आप में अनूठी पहल है जो हमेशा "सेवा" करने की भावना से प्रमुदित व गर्वित रखती है। सर्वधर्म प्रार्थना सभा में शामिल होकर मन निर्मल हो जाता है। सागर सी विस्तृत गतिविधियां एवं क्रियाकलाप बुनियादी तौर पर छात्र के जीवन में बेहद उपयोगी व ज्ञानवर्धक हैं तथा छात्र के सर्वांगीण विकास में एक प्रबल, सहयोगी भूमिका निभाते हैं। स्काउट आंदोलन से जुड़कर जब कोई छात्र इन रचनात्मक क्रियाकलापों में भाग लेता है तब वह स्वत: ही अनुशासित, क्रियाशील, शालीन, आत्मनिर्भर व स्वाभिमानी नजर आता है। स्काउटिंग में प्रवेश से लेकर राष्ट्रपति अवार्ड तक का नियोजित पाठ्यक्रम है।

स्काउट प्रतिज्ञा

एक स्काउट जब यह प्रतिज्ञा लेता है कि "मैं मर्यादापूर्वक प्रतिज्ञा करता हूं कि मैं यथाशक्ति ईश्वर और अपने देश के

प्रति अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करूंगा, दूसरों की सहायता करूंगा और स्काउट नियम का पालन करूंगा,'' तब उसके विचार स्वत: ही बदल जाते हैं। उसकी कार्यशैली व व्यवहार में बदलाव आ जाता है। एक स्काउट के लिए ''मर्यादा'' सबसे बहुमूल्य होती है, उसकी मर्यादा विश्वसनीय होती है। एक बार प्रतिज्ञा लेने के बाद उस पर भली प्रकार अमल करना पड़ता है, कथनी करनी में एकात्मक-भाव रखना पड़ता है। हर दशा व परिस्थिति में संकल्पित कार्य को यथाशक्ति पूरा करना होता है। स्काउट की तीन प्रतिज्ञाएं होती हैं।

पहली प्रतिज्ञा में वह ईश्वर व देश के प्रति अपने कर्त्तव्य को ईमानदारी से पूरा करने का प्रण लेता है। ईश्वर में आस्था रखना व किसी भी कार्य सफलता के लिए ईश्वर का धन्यवाद देना सीखता है। एक स्काउट अपने धर्म का आचरण करके दूसरे धर्मों का आदर और सम्मान करता है। देश के प्रति हमारा यही कर्त्तव्य है कि हम पूरी देशभक्ति से राष्ट्र हित के कार्य में जुटे रहें। राष्ट्र हित सर्वोपरि है, वैयक्तिक हित व सुख नगण्य हैं। एक स्काउट राष्ट्रीय संपत्ति व इमारतों की रक्षा करता है तथा आंतरिक संकट, बाढ़, अकाल, महामारी इत्यादि के समय में वह तन मन और धन से सहायता करके अपने कर्त्तव्य को निभाता है।

प्रत्येक स्काउट दूसरों की सहायता करने का प्रण लेता है। इसके अनुसार वह प्रतिदिन एक भलाई का कार्य (गुड टर्न) करता है। घर पर माता-पिता के काम में हाथ बंटाता है, मुसीबत में फंसे व्यक्ति की संहर्ष और निष्काम भाव से सहायता करता है। कमजोर, असहाय, रोगी व वृद्ध की सेवा करता है तथा प्रतिपल परोपकार व समाज सेवा में जुटा रहता है। वह इन सेवाओं के बदले में किसी प्रकार का पारिश्रमिक या इनाम पाने का आकांक्षी नहीं रहता है। वह स्काउट नियम के पालन की शपथ लेता है जो उसे प्रशंसनीय बना देते हैं।

स्काउट नियम

प्रत्येक स्काउट नौ नियम मानता है। वह इन नियमों का पालन अपनी दिनचर्या का एक महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा मानकर करता है। इन नौ नियमों के पालन से उसमें मानवीय गुणों व संवेदनाओं का विकास होता है, उसके व्यक्तित्व में असीम निखार आता है, वह सेवाभावी बनता है। उसके मन के विकार सहज भाव से मिट जाते हैं। उसके कोमल हृदय में परोपकार, देश सेवा के भाव समाहित हो जाते हैं। स्काउट का पहला नियम है कि वह विश्वसनीय होता है। अर्थात् वह जो कुछ कहता है या करता है दूसरे उसके वचनों को सत्य मानकर उसका विश्वास करते हैं। वह कभी भी झूठ नहीं बोलता, झूठा वादा नहीं करता, दूसरों को धोखा नहीं देता और अपने साथियों का विश्वास भंग नहीं करता। दूसरे नियम के अनुसार स्काउट वफादार होता है। वह अपनी टोली, दल, परिवार, मित्र, समाज, देश के प्रति पूरी निष्ठा से कर्त्तव्य पालन करते हुए सदैव वफादार बना रहता है। समाज के कल्याण हेतु सामुदायिक विकास योजनाओं में उसकी सच्ची भागीदारी, व वफादारी उस को निखार देती है, संवार देती है।

स्काउट सबका मित्र होता है तथा प्रत्येक दूसरे स्काउट का भाई होता है अर्थात स्काउट का कोई शत्रु नहीं होता है। वह रंग, धर्म, बोली, भाषा, जाति, खानपान, रहन सहन,अमीर-गरीब और ऊँच-नीच की भावना लाए बिना सभी से समान सखा भाव रखता है तथा सुख-दुख में यथासंभव मदद करता है। चौथे नियम के अनुसार स्काउट विनम्र होता है विनम्रता शक्ति का प्रतीक है, विनयी भाव श्रद्धा का स्तंभ है। प्रत्येक स्काउट सदैव अपनी मीठी वाणी, शांत स्वभाव व उन्मुक्त मुस्कान से दूसरों का मन जीतता है तथा शालीनता पूर्वक आचरण करता है।

पाँचवें नियम के तहत स्काउट पशु-पक्षियों का मित्र और प्रकृति प्रेमी होता है। पशु-पक्षी मूक प्राणी होते हैं, वे अपने सुख-दुख की भावना को किसी से संकेतार्थ व्यक्त कर सकते हैं किंतु बोली में कहकर व्यक्त नहीं कर पाते हैं। स्काउट उन्हें 'ईश्वरीय कृति' मानकर पानी, दाना, चुग्गा, भोजन, संरक्षण देता है तथा रोगी पशु-पक्षी की मित्रवत सहायता करता है। प्रत्येक स्काउट प्रकृति-प्रेमी होता है। वह प्राकृतिक वातावरण को प्रदूषित होने से बचाने के कार्य में तल्लीन रहता है ताकि सभी को स्वच्छ जल, शुद्ध वायु व समुचित प्रकाश मिल सके। वह नए वृक्ष व पौधे लगाकर उनका संरक्षण करता है।

छठा नियम कहता है कि स्काउट अनुशासनशील होता है और सार्वजनिक संपत्ति की रक्षा करने में सहयोग देता है।

अनुशासन एक जीवन पद्धति है। विद्यार्थी जीवन की पहली पहचान ही यही है। प्रत्येक स्काउट अनुशासित बने रहकर आदेशों का प्रसन्नतापूर्वक व निष्ठापूर्वक पालन करता है। सार्वजनिक संपत्ति राष्ट्र की बहुमूल्य धरोहर होती है उसकी रक्षा करने में वह सहयोग देता है। सातवें नियम के अनुसार स्काउट साहसी होता है। प्रत्येक स्काउट मुसीबत के क्षणों में भी धीरज नहीं खोता। साहसी बने रहकर खतरों का सामना करता है। असफलता को जानता ही नहीं तथा भय व निराशा को इर्द-गिर्द नहीं फटकने देता।

आठवां नियम सिखाता है कि स्काउट मितव्ययी होता है। प्रत्येक स्काउट धन, वस्त्र, पानी, भोजन, विद्युत, दैनिक आवश्यकता की वस्तुएं और स्वयं की शक्ति को अनावश्यक खर्च नहीं करता है। फिजूल खर्ची, कंजूसी और मितव्ययी स्वभाव में काफी अंतर होता है। वह प्रकृति प्रदत्त तथा मानव निर्मित (अर्जित) संसाधनों का अपव्यय नहीं करता, दुरुपयोग नहीं करता है। अंतिम नियम है कि स्काउट मन, वचन, और कर्म से शुद्ध होता है। स्काउट मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा शुद्ध, सात्विक, शालीन रहता है। वह स्वयं के आनंद के लिए दूसरों को नाराज नहीं करता है। वह विनम्र, स्वच्छ, आज्ञाकारी व शुद्ध रहता है, शांत, आत्मनिर्भर व कर्त्तव्य निष्ठ रहता है।

विकास के सोपान

स्काउटिंग/गाइडिंग में चरणबद्ध तरीके से जानकारी प्राप्त करते हुए, अर्हता व आकांक्षा की पूर्ति करते हुए, स्तर के अनुसार जांच व परीक्षाएं देते हुए प्रत्येक छात्र निम्नानुसार आगे बढ़ते हैं :

कब/बुलबुल विभाग (06से 10वर्ष)	स्काउट/गाइड विभाग (10से 18वर्ष)
1. प्रवेश	1. प्रवेश
2. प्रथम चरण/कोमल पंख	2. प्रथम सोपान
3. द्वितीय चरण/रजत पंख	3. द्वितीय सोपान
4. तृतीय चरण/स्वर्ण पंख	4. तृतीय सोपान
5. चतुर्थ चरण/हीरक पंख	5. राज्य पुरस्कार
	6. राष्ट्रपति अवार्ड

वे छोटे बच्चे जिनकी आयु 06 वर्ष हो चुकी हे वे कब पैक/बुलबुल फ्लॉक में शामिल हो सकते हैं। ये कब/बुलबुल 06 से 10 वर्ष तक विविध चरणों/पंखों के माध्यम से स्काउट व गाइड आंदोलन की प्रवृत्ति के बारे में रुचि लेते हैं, जानकारी प्राप्त करते हैं, क्रमबद्ध रूप में सीखते रहते हैं तथा पाठ्यक्रमों को पूर्ण करके विविध बैज, विशेष योग्यता पदक प्राप्त करते हैं।

एक बालक जिसकी आयु 10 वर्ष पूर्ण हो चुकी हो वह स्काउट बन सकता है। कम से कम एक माह तक स्काउट अर्हता व आकांक्षाएं पूर्ण करने पर प्रवेश स्काउट बन जाता है। तत्पश्चात 10 वर्ष एक माह की आयु के बाद 'दीक्षा' हो सकती है। प्रवेश स्काउट 06 माह तक के समय में आवश्यक पाठ्यक्रम सफलतापूर्वक उत्तीर्ण करने पर प्रथम सोपान उत्तीर्ण कर लेता है। प्रथम सोपान स्काउट 09 माह तक निर्धारित गतिविधियों में कुशलतापूर्वक भाग लेकर द्वितीय सोपान बैज स्काउट बन जाता है। प्रवेश व प्रथम सोपान की परीक्षा संबंधित स्काउट मास्टर/गाइड कैप्टन ही लेते हैं किन्तु द्वितीय सोपान से आगे की जांच करके स्थानीय/ज़िले संघ द्वारा नियुक्त स्वतंत्र परीक्षक/प्रशिक्षण परामर्शदाता लेते हैं जो कि निष्पक्ष जांच करके उन्हें सफल घोषित करते हैं। द्वितीय सोपान स्काउट एक वर्ष तक अर्हता एवं पाठ्यक्रम पूर्ण करने पर तृतीय सोपान के लिए योग्य हो जाता है। तृतीय सोपान बैज 12 वर्ष 06 माह की आयु से पूर्व नहीं प्रदान/प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। तृतीय सोपान बैज प्राप्ति के 06 माह बाद राज्य पुरस्कार शिविर आयोजित होता है। कोई भी स्काउट 13 वर्ष की आयु से पूर्व राज्य पुरस्कार बैज प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता है। राज्य पुरस्कार स्काउट एक वर्ष तक निर्धारित पाठ्यक्रम में सहभागिता करके, अर्हता को उत्तीर्ण कर स्काउट/गाइड राष्ट्रपति अवार्ड के लिए योग्य हो जाता है। राष्ट्रपति पुरस्कार पाने के लिए न्यूनतम आयु 14 वर्ष है। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि बालक 10 वर्ष से 14 वर्ष तक किस प्रकार स्काउट गतिविधियों से जुड़ा रहकर सक्रिय व गतिशील रहता है।

ग्रुप की जानकारी

स्काउट व गाइड आंदोलन में दो मुख्य समूह (ग्रुप) हैं– स्काउट एवं गाइड। स्काउट समूह में कब, स्काउट व रोवर

तथा गाइड समूह में बुलबुल, गाइड व रेंजर आती हैं। एक समूह में आयु, स्तर व श्रेणी के अनुसार एक से अधिक टोलियां, इकाईयां होती हैं। प्रत्येक ग्रुप के विषय में संक्षिप्त जानकारी इस प्रकार है।

कैंप, हाइक व खेलकूद

समय-समय पर लगने वाले कैंप, शिविर बालकों को आत्मनिर्भर बनाते हैं। भ्रमण, यात्रा व हाइक से बालक जंगल से तादम्य स्थापित करता है। घर से बाहर के वातावरण की अच्छाइयों को ग्रहण करता है, सीखता है। प्रकृति के नज़दीक रहकर उसकी अतुलनीय संपदा, असीम सौंदर्य व विलक्षण वैभव से परिचय प्राप्त करता है। वन्य जीवों व वन के महत्व व जीवन शैली के प्रति सकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण विकसित करता है। ट्रूप/कंपनी/मीटिंग या मैक/फलॉक मीटिंग के दौरान खेलकूद में हिस्सा लेकर बालक शारीरिक व मानसिक विकास को प्राप्त करते हैं। चुस्ती, स्फूर्ति व सेहत को बरकरार रखते हैं। शिविर, रैली, उत्सव, कैंप के माध्यम से घर से बाहर का जीवन बच्चे यथार्थ में जीमर सच्चाई से साक्षात्कार करते हैं। अपना काम स्वयं करते हैं तथा अपरिचित साथियों के साथ

स्काउट/गाइड ग्रुप

क्रम	श्रेणी (आयु/स्तर)	आयु	टोली सभा	कुल सदस्य (संख्या/इकाई)	बैज का रंग	टोली का नाम	आर्दश वाक्य सं० (मोटो)
1.	बनी	3-6 वर्ष	---	12 से 18 तक	पीले बनियान पर सामने सफेद खरगोश (गोले में)	---	मुस्कराते रहो (बी इस्माइल्ड)
2.	कब/बुलबुल	6-10 वर्ष	षष्ठर कौंसिल	12 से 24 तक	नीला	षष्ठर	भरसक प्रयत्न करो (डू योअर बेस्ट)
3.	स्काउट/गाइड	10-18 वर्ष	मान सभा (कोर्ट ऑफ ऑनर)	12 से 32 तक	हरा	पैट्रोल	तैयार रहो (बी प्रीपेयर्ड)
4.	रोवर/रेंजर	16 से 35 तक/ 16- 25 वर्ष	क्रू कौंसिल	12 से 24 तक रेंजर कमेटी	लाल	मेट	सेवा (सर्विस)

(स्काउट विभाग)

क्रम	श्रेणी	समूह (इकाई)	प्रभारी शिक्षक	कुल सदस्य सं. (टोली)	टोली लीडर	रात्रि कालीन कार्यक्रम
1.	बनी	टमटोला	बनी लीडर	3-6	---	---
2.	शेर बालक (कब)	पैक	कब मास्टर	4-6	षष्ठर	लाल फूल
3.	स्काउट (बालचर)	ट्रूप	स्काउट मास्टर	6-8	पेट्रोल लीडर	शिविर ज्वाल
4.	रोवर (तरुणचर)	क्रू	रोवर लीडर	4-6	रोवर मेट	शिविर ज्वाल

समायोजन करते हैं। इन गतिविधियों से उनका बहुमुखी विकास चरणबद्ध स्वरूप में होता रहता है।

स्काउट/गाइड ग्रुप

स्काउट व गाइड ग्रुप विभाग की संक्षिप्त में जानकारी हम निम्नांकित सारणी से प्राप्त कर सकते हैं :

इस टोली पद्धति से बालक-बालिकाओं में चारित्रिक विकास, नेतृत्व, संयोजन एवं सामंजस्य स्वावलंबन, आत्मनिर्भरता तथा उत्तरदायित्व की भावना, अनुशासित जीवन व सुव्यवस्थित दिनचर्या विकसित होती है। स्काउट/गाइड दोनों समूहों में बालक प्रारंभ से विदाई तक अपने-अपने दल में खुश, स्वस्थ व क्रियाशील रहता है।

गणवेश

पूर्ण गणवेश प्रत्येक वर्दीधारी को आदरणीय बना देती है। उसमें वर्दी के प्रति गौरवपूर्ण अहसास भर देती है। स्काउट वर्दी पहनने के बाद किसी भी प्रकार की शरारत नहीं करता उसके दिल में स्काउट गणवेश श्रद्धा, प्रतिष्ठा व इज्जत भर जाती है। पूरी गणवेश में स्काउट गाइड बहुत मनोहर लगते हैं। वे समाज के आदरणीय पात्र बनते हैं। देश की आकांक्षाओं के प्रतीक बनते हैं। पूर्ण गणवेश धारण कर जब बच्चे स्काउट गतिविधियों में भाग लेने आते हैं तब उनकी अपनी ही निराली छवि व शान होती है।

सर्वधर्म प्रार्थना सभा

स्काउट व गाइड आंदोलन का एक सजीव कार्यक्रम है–सर्वधर्म प्रार्थना सभा। किसी भी कैंप, रैली, उत्सव, शिविर या अन्य कार्यक्रम के समापन के दिन सुबह सर्वधर्म प्रार्थना सभा आयोजित होती है जिसमें सभी प्रतिभागी स्काउट/गाइड व शिक्षकगण भाग लेते हैं। इस सभा में सभी धर्मों के प्रतिनिधि अपने-अपने धर्म की प्रार्थना करते हैं, वैयक्तिक वंदना के साथ कुछ सामूहिक प्रार्थना, भजन, गीत इत्यादि होते हैं। एक मंच से, एक साथ मिलकर अपनी आस्था को सजीव बनाते हैं। एक-दूसरे का आदर सत्कार करते हैं। यहां पर किसी भी किस्म का किसी के साथ कोई भेदभाव नहीं बरता जाता है। इससे आपसी सौहार्द्र भाव, एकता, प्रेम व भाई-चारा बढ़ता है, विचारों में विस्तृत फैलाव आता है।

गुडटर्न की दिनचर्या (नित्य भलाई का कार्य करने की आदत)

प्रत्येक स्काउट व गाइड स्कार्फ पहनता है जिसके दोनों सिरों पर एक गांठ लगाते हैं। इस गांठ को 'गुड टर्न' यानी' भलाई के कार्य की गांठ कहते हैं। यह गांठ हमें स्मरण कराती है कि हमें प्रतिदिन भलाई का एक कार्य अवश्य करना है। यह भलाई का कार्य घर, विद्यालय, पास-पड़ोस,मोहल्ले या किसी सार्वजनिक स्थल पर हो सकता है। एक कहावत है-"शुभ कार्यों की शुरुआत स्वयं से, घर से करनी होती है"

(ब) गाइड विभाग

क्रम सं.	श्रेणी	समूह यूनिट	प्रभारी शिक्षिका	कुल सदस्य सं.(टोली)	टोली नायक	रात्रिकालीन कार्यक्रम
01	बनी	टमटोला	बनी लीडर	3-6	---	---
02.	बुलबुल	फ्लॉक	फ्लॉक लीडर	4-6	षष्ठर	रेड फ्लावर
03.	गाइड	कम्पनी	गाइड कैप्टन	6-8	पेट्रोल लीडर	कैंप फायर
04.	रेंजर	टीम	रेंजर लीडर	4-6	रेंजर मेट	कैंप फायर

(चेरिटी बिगिन्स एट होम)। यदि बालक में यह आदत पड़ जाए कि उसे प्रतिदिन भलाई का एक कार्य तो करना ही है तो फिर सभी जन भले हो जाएंगे। घर पर, विद्यालय में या किसी सार्वजनिक स्थान पर किया जाने वाला स्वैच्छिक कार्य छात्र में अजीब सी खुशी व प्रसन्नता का भाव भर देता है। यह कार्य अपनी श्रद्धा, शक्ति व सामर्थ्य के मुताबिक छोटा या बड़ा हो सकता है। उदाहरण के रूप में खाना पकाने में, राशन लाने में, गेहूँ पिसवाने में माता-पिता की मदद करना, हैंड पम्प या नल से पानी भरना, दादा-दादी के हाथ-पाँव दबाना, मेहमानों का आदर सत्कार करना, घर में साफ-सफाई रखना व सुव्यवस्थित सामान रखना, कपड़ों पर प्रेस करना, बागवानी में सहयोग देना, चिट्ठी डालना, छोटे भाई-बहिन को स्कूल के लिए तैयार करना, गृहकार्य में सहयोग देना, घर के बिखरे सामान को उचित स्थान पर रखना, पेड़-पौधों की संभाल, स्कूल में साथी की मदद करना इत्यादि।

उद्देश्य

बॉय स्काउट आंदोलन के संस्थापक लॉर्ड पावेल के मतानुसार स्काउटिंग का उद्देश्य बालकों में उनका चारित्रिक विकास करके, उनमें अवलोकन, आज्ञा पालन व आत्मविश्वास की आदतें पैदा करके, उन्हें ऐसे सेवा के कार्य सिखाकर जो समाज के लिए लाभदायक हो, उनमें वफादारी, देशभक्ति और दूसरों के लिए सकारात्मक विचारशीलता पैदा करना है जिसमें उनका शारीरिक मानसिक और आत्मिक विकास हो। उन्हें अपने निजि हितों को दूसरों के हित के लिए न्योछावर करना सिखाकर अच्छा नागरिक बनाना है।

नेतृत्व

एक अच्छे कप्तान की सूझबूझ, नायक की क्षमता व कुशल नेतृत्व पर दल की सफलता निर्भर करती है इसलिए स्काउट/गाइड आंदोलन को चलाने के लिए विभिन्न स्तरों पर प्रभारी शिक्षकों की योग्यता, उत्कंठा, आकांक्षा भी उतनी ही जरूरी व महत्वपूर्ण है जितनी कि संसाधन, प्रशिक्षण व भौतिक सुविधाएं। शिक्षकों के प्रशिक्षण का क्रम सामान्य सूचना पाठ्यक्रम (एक दिवस), बेसिक कोर्स (10 दिवसीय), एडवांस कोर्स (08 दिवसीय), हिमालय बुडबैज कोर्स (10 दिवसीय) फिर ए०एल०टी० व एल० टी० इत्यादि प्रत्येक विभाग व इकाई में होता है। एक अच्छे नेता में अनेक गुण व योग्यताएं अपेक्षित हैं। जैसे वह अच्छा चरित्र व शुद्ध आचरण रखता हो। प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तित्व हो। बालकों के लिए उसमें नि:स्वार्थ व सच्चा प्रेम हो। वह निष्कपट व्यक्तित्व हो तथा उसका अनुशासित जीवन हो। उच्च आदर्श, सादा जीवन उसे प्रिय हो। प्रकृति व वनों से मोह रखता हो। उसमें बालकों के स्तर पर उतर सकने की क्षमता हो। दल को संचालित करने की जिज्ञासा व ललक का धनी हो। निष्पक्षता का भाव रखता हो तथा कठिनाइयों से जूझने के लिए तत्पर रहता हो। आत्मनियंत्रण व त्वरित निर्णय वाला व्यक्तित्व हो तथा स्वयं को आदर्श उदाहरण के रूप में प्रस्तुत करने की अभिलाषा व योग्यता से संपन्न हो।

उपसंहार

निष्कर्ष रूप में हम यह कह सकते हैं कि स्काउटिंग बालक के सर्वांगीण विकास में अपने रोचक कार्यक्रमों, उपयोगी क्रियाकलापों, सार्थक गतिविधियों, रोमांचक व मनोरंजक प्रवृत्तियों के माध्यम से सहायक भूमिका निभाती है। स्काउटिंग बालक को शिक्षित भी करती है, उसका शारीरिक सौष्ठव भी बढ़ाती है तथा चारित्रिक विकास भी करती है। हस्तकला कौशल में निपुण बनाकर यह आत्मनिर्भर रहने का भाव सिखाती है। स्काउटिंग एक बड़ा मनोरंजक खेल है जिसमें सहभागिता करने वाला ही इसके आनंद से अभिभूत हो सकता है। यह जीवनपर्यन्त चलने वाली एक सक्रिय गतिविधि है। इसीलिए प्रत्येक बालक को स्काउटिंग/गाइडिंग गतिविधि में भाग लेना चाहिए। स्काउट/गाइड आंदोलन की प्रवृत्ति बालकों के सर्वांगीण विकास में सार्थक भूमिका का समुचित ढंग से निर्वहन करती है।

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स्कूली पाठ्यक्रम से लिंग भेद व स्त्री-पुरुष असमानता का उन्मूलन

राजरानी

प्रवक्ता
महिला अध्ययन विभाग
एन. सी. ई. आर. टी., नई दिल्ली

समाज में महिलाओं का स्थान पारिवारिक, आर्थिक व सामाजिक तीनों ही दृष्टियों से अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण है। लिंग भेद हमारे समाज का एक अभिशाप है। संवैधानिक समानता के बावजूद महिलाओं को समाज में बराबर का दर्जा नहीं दिया जाता है। इस लेख में लेखिका ने बताना चाहा है कि लिंग भेद का बालक-बालिकाओं के आत्मविश्वास, शैक्षिक उन्नति, संबंधों इत्यादि पर जो प्रभाव पड़ता है उससे असमानता बढ़ती है। लेखिका का अनुमान है कि यदि पाठ्यक्रम से लिंग भेद का उन्मूलन कर दिया जाए तो निश्चित रूप से बालिकाओं का आत्मविश्वास बढ़ेगा और उनकी आत्मछवि भी सुधरेगी। इस कार्य में अध्यापक विशेष भूमिका निभा सकते हैं।

प्रत्येक समाज में कई प्रकार के भेदभाव व्याप्त हैं जैसे जाति के आधार पर, रंग के आधार पर, वर्ग के आधार पर। साथ ही भेदभाव लिंग के आधार पर भी होता है जिसे लिंग भेद कहते हैं। भेदभाव किसी के पक्ष में होता है तो दूसरे को वंचित करता है। लिंग भेद अधिकतर पुरुष वर्ग के पक्ष में तथा महिला वर्ग के प्रति होता है। यह स्त्री व पुरुष में असमानता को जन्म देता है तथा पुरुष को नारी की अपेक्षा अधिक महत्वपूर्ण समझे जाने का द्योतक है। जन्म से अथवा इससे भी पूर्व बच्चे के साथ व्यवहार उसके लिंग के आधार पर किया जाता है जो सारी उम्र चलता रहता है।

लिंग भेद स्त्री व पुरुष के प्रति रूढ़िबद्ध विचारों व भेदभावों को जन्म देता है। अधिकतर व्यक्ति के कार्यों/भूमिकाओं का विभाजन *व्यक्तिगत योग्यता व अभिरुचि के स्थान* पर उसके लिंग के आधार पर किया जाता रहा है जैसे स्त्रियों के लिए घर-परिवार के अंदर होने वाले कार्य अच्छे समझे जाते हैं तथा पुरुषों के लिए आर्थिक भूमिकाएं अधिक महत्वपूर्ण समझी जाती रही हैं। साथ ही व्यक्ति के गुणों को भी हम उसके लिंग के आधार पर आंकते हैं जैसे पुरुषों को वीरता, शारीरिक शक्ति, साहस, कठोरता, वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण आदि गुणों से जोड़ा जाता है जबकि महिला में त्याग, सुन्दरता, संवेदनशीलता आदि गुण अपेक्षित हैं। स्त्री तथा पुरुष के प्रति इन परंपरागत विचारों के पीछे कोई ठोस प्रमाण नहीं है कि हर परिस्थिति में हर पुरुष तथा स्त्री में ऐसे ही गुण होंगे अथवा वे ऐसी ही भूमिका निभा सकते हैं। ऐसी धारणा है कि पुरुष वर्ग महिला वर्ग की अपेक्षा अधिक बुद्धिमान हैं परन्तु अभी तक इस धारणा की पुष्टि तथ्यों के आधार पर नहीं की जा सकी है। वास्तव में व्यक्तियों में व्यक्तिगत भिन्नता तो होती है परंतु लिंग के आधार पर भेदभाव सामाजीकरण का प्रभाव है। लिंग भेद अथवा स्त्री-पुरुष असमानता तथा उनके प्रति रूढ़िवादी विचार आरंभ से ही प्रत्येक समाज में बालिका के कम महत्व का परिणाम है। अधिकतर समाज में लड़की की अपेक्षा लड़के को अधिक महत्व दिया जाता है। यह भेदभाव जीवन के हर क्षेत्र-घर, परिवार, कार्य क्षेत्र तथा समाज में परिलक्षित होता है। यह सभी समुदायों/समाज में होता है परंतु कहीं ज्यादा व कहीं कम होता है। सामाजीकरण की प्रक्रिया के द्वारा ये व्यवहार तथा भेदभाव बच्चे सीख लेते हैं तथा अपना लेते हैं। आज हमारे समाज में विकास प्रक्रिया के माध्यम से काफी परिवर्तन आया है, परंतु स्त्री व पुरुष के प्रति हमारे विचारों (उनके कार्यों का विभाजन उनसे अपेक्षाएं) में अधिक परिवर्तन नहीं आ पाया है। हमने आज भी स्त्री

व पुरुष का क्षेत्र अलग-अलग किया हुआ है संवैधानिक समानता के बावजूद महिलाओं को समाज में बराबर का दर्जा नहीं दिया जाता है तथा स्त्रियों द्वारा किए गए कार्यों को कम महत्वपूर्ण समझा जाता है।

यदि लिंग भेद को आरंभ में ही न पहचाना जाए तथा न रोका जाए तो यह बालक व बालिका दोनों को ही नुकसान पहुंचाता है। बालिका में लिंग भेद के कारण आत्मविश्वास नहीं पनप पाता तथा वह स्वयं को हीन समझने लगती है। साथ ही यह उसके शैक्षिक तथा व्यवसायिक अवसरों को भी सीमित कर देता है। दूसरी ओर बालक अपने आप को बालिकाओं की अपेक्षा अधिक महत्वपूर्ण समझने लगते हैं। ये परम्परागत विचार आगे चलकर स्त्री-पुरुष में मधुर संबंध बनने से रोकते हैं तथा असमानता को बढ़ावा देते हैं। क्षमता होते हुए भी आधी जनसंख्या महिला वर्ग का लाभ समाज व देश को नहीं मिल पाता । देश की आर्थिक स्थिति भी इससे प्रभावित हुए बिना नहीं रहती जो कि महिलाओं के सामाजिक स्तर तथा उनके शैक्षिक व व्यावसायिक अवसरों पर भी निर्भर करती है।

शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम भी लिंग भेद व स्त्री-पुरुष असमानता से अछूते नहीं रहते क्योंकि शिक्षा एक सामाजिक प्रक्रिया है। स्कूल में बालक-बालिकाएं व अध्यापक अपने-अपने समुदाय व समाज में व्याप्त लिंग भेद व परंपरागत स्त्री-पुरुष अवधारणाओं को लेकर आते हैं। स्कूली शिक्षा पाठ्यक्रम के माध्यम से चलती है। हमारे देश में प्राथमिक, उच्च प्राथमिक तथा माध्यमिक स्तर तक बालक व बालिकाओं के लिए एक जैसे पाठ्यक्रम की व्यवस्था है। यदि पाठ्यक्रम एक जैसा है तो लिंग भेद नहीं होना चाहिए परंतु ऐसा नहीं होता। पाठ्यक्रम का संचालन अधिकतर पाठ्यपुस्तकों के माध्यम से होता है तथा साधारणतया अध्यापक व विद्यार्थियों को पढ़ाने-पढ़ने के लिए पाठ्य पुस्तकों के अतिरिक्त कुछ और नहीं होता। बालिका शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने के लिए तथा महिलाओं के सशक्तिकरण के लिए राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 1986 तथा उसकी कार्य योजना (1992) में पाठ्यक्रम पाठ्य पुस्तकों तथा अन्य शैक्षिक कार्यक्रमों से लिंगभेद के उन्मूलन की बात कही गई है। यद्यपि इस दिशा में काफी प्रयास किए जा रहे हैं तथापि राष्ट्रीय व राजकीय स्तर पर किए गए अध्ययन यह दर्शाते हैं कि पाठ्य पुस्तकों में लिंग भेद व स्त्री-पुरुष असमानता अभी तक व्याप्त है। इसका मुख्य कारण है कि पाठ्य पुस्तकें लिखने वाले भी समाज से जुड़े होते हैं तथा सामाजिक रीति-रिवाजों धारणाओं व मूल्यों से प्रभावित होते हैं। ऐसा पाया गया है कि अधिकतर पाठ्यपुस्तकों में बालिका/महिला की भागेदारी बालक/पुरुष की अपेक्षा बहुत कम दिखाई जाती है। महत्वपूर्ण भूमिकाओं में अधिकतर पुरुष पात्रों को ही दिखाया जाता है। आज महिला जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में समान रूप से कार्यरत है परन्त पाठ्यपुस्तकें अभी तक स्त्री-पुरुष को रूढ़िबद्ध परंपरागत भूमिकाओं में ही दिखाती हैं। उदाहरण के लिए पुरुषों का प्रभुत्व व्यावसायिक सामाजिक व राजनैतिक भूमिकाओं में होता है जबकि महिलाओं की अधिकतर घरेलू भूमिका किसी की माता पुत्री, पत्नी, बहन तथा घर का कार्य करने वाली ही उभारी जाती है। पाठ्य पुस्तकों की भाषा, प्रस्तुतीकरण तथा उदाहरणों व चित्रों में भी पुरुष प्रधानता स्पष्ट झलकती है। भाषा, सामाजिक विज्ञान, विज्ञान तथा गणित सभी विषयों की पाठ्य पुस्तकों से लिंग भेद उन्मूलन की आवश्यकता है।

यदि अध्यापक को ऐसी ही पाठ्य पुस्तकों का प्रयोग करना पड़े तो पढ़ाते समय विशेष ध्यान रखना होगा। पढ़ाते समय विषयानुसार दैनिक जीवन से ऐसे उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किए जाएं जो जीवन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में महिला की भागेदारी दर्शाते हो तथा महिला को एक समर्थ व सशक्त व्यक्ति के रूप में प्रदर्शित करते हों। जिसकी स्वयं की अलग पहचान हो जैसे एक सफल अध्यापिका, डॉक्टर, वैज्ञानिक, समाज सेविका, ग्राम सेविका, किसान, पर्यावरण बचाने में लगी महिला, सड़क और इमारतें बनाने वाली महिला, नदिया व पर्वत पार करती महिला, घरेलू उद्योगों में लगी महिला आदि। इसके लिए समाचार पत्रों की कतरनें पत्रिकाओं से लेख व चित्र इकट्ठे किए जा सकते हैं।

गणित की पाठ्य पुस्तकों में कुछ इकाईयों में बालिका/महिला की भागीदारी अत्यन्त कम दिखाई जाती है। धन संबंधी प्रश्न (खरीदना, बेचना, बैंक से लेन-देन लाभ-हानि के प्रश्न, पारिवारिक सम्पति संबंधी प्रश्न) ऐसी इकाई पढ़ाते समय अध्यापक कक्षा में विशेष रूप से बालिका/महिला संबंधी प्रश्न बनाकर हल करवा सकते हैं।

भाषा, सामाजिक विज्ञान व विज्ञान विषयों में जो पाठ मानव के इतिहास, हमारी सभ्यता, वातावरण से संबंधित हैं वहां स्त्री व पुरुष दोनों के उदाहरण दिए जाएं।

पाठ्य पुस्तकों के अतिरिक्त लिंग भेद अन्य शिक्षण प्रक्रिया (कक्षा व उसके बाहर) में भी परिलक्षित होता है जो अनजाने में ही आ जाता है। कक्षा में पढ़ाते समय इस बात का ध्यान रखना होगा कि बालिकाएं एक कोने में ही न सिमटी रहें। प्रश्न पूछने के अवसर अधिकतर बालकों को ही न मिलें अपितु कक्षा में कम बोलने वाली बालिकाओं को भी प्रश्न पूछने के लिए प्रेरित किया जाए। यदि बालिकाएं किसी विषय में पिछड़ रहीं हैं तो उसका कारण जानने के प्रयास किए जाएं। अध्यापक स्वयं इस बात से सहमत हो कि बालिका किसी भी तरह बालक से कम नहीं होती तथा विद्यालय में दोनों को विकास के समान अवसर मिलने चाहिए। अधिकतर घरों में बालिकाओं को शिक्षा के पूर्ण अवसर नहीं मिलते क्योंकि ज्यादातर समय उन्हें घर के कार्यों भाई-बहन की देखभाल, माता की सहायता, पानी भरना, ईंधन जुटाना जैसे कार्यों में लगना पड़ता है।

कार्यों का विभाजन जैसे रजिस्टर व चाक लाना, कक्षा की सफाई श्याम पट्ट पर लिखना, किसी अतिथि के लिए पानी अथवा चाय का प्रबंध करना, मानिटर बनाना इत्यादि लिंग के आधार पर न करके व्यक्तिगत गुणों के आधार पर किया जाए तथा सभी को बारी-बारी से इन कार्यों के लिए अवसर दिए जाएं।

पाठ्यसहगामी क्रियाओं में जैसे खेलकूद, वाद-विवाद ड्रामा आदि में बालिकाओं को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाए। यदि कक्षा में बालक-बालिका दोनों हैं तो अध्यापक इस बात का ध्यान रखे कि केवल पुरुष वाचक संज्ञा व सर्वनामों का ही प्रयोग न किया जाए।

कक्षा में ऐसे वाक्यों का प्रयोग न किया जाए जैसे "क्यों लड़की की तरह रोता है", "क्यों लड़कों की तरह छलांग लगाती हो"। कक्षा में जहां तक हो सके क्रियाएं कराने के लिए लड़के व लड़कियों के मिले-जुले समूह बनाए जाएं। साथ ही समूह में भी ऐसा न हो कि महत्वपूर्ण कार्य लड़कों को दे दिए जाएं व लड़कियां केवल सहायक कार्य ही करें। लड़कियों में निर्णय लेने के गुण व नेतृत्व के गुणों का विकास करने के लिए उन्हें चुनौतीपूर्ण कार्य सौंपना अति आवश्यक है।

प्रशंसा, दण्ड अथवा अपने अन्य किसी व्यवहार द्वारा अध्यापक किसी बालक व बालिका में भेदभाव न करे। बालक व बालिकाओं में गुणों व कार्यों की तुलना को बढ़ावा न दिया जाए। बालकों में भी देखभाल करने, घर के कार्य में हाथ बटांने, सहनशीलता व धैर्य जैसे गुणों को विकसित करने का प्रयास किया जाए।

उच्च प्राथमिक तथा माध्यमिक स्तर तक आते-आते बालक-बालिकाओं में शैक्षिक व व्यवसायिक आकांक्षाएं उभरने लगती हैं। बालक का पालन-पोषण इस प्रकार किया जाता है कि वह आरंभ से ही उच्च शैक्षिक व व्यावसायिक आकांक्षाएं रखता है। जिन्हें पूरा करने का माता-पिता भरसक प्रयास करते हैं। बालिका के लिए आज भी घरेलू भूमिकाएं (आदर्श पत्नी, माता) ही महत्वपूर्ण समझी जाती है। अतः उन्हें उच्च शैक्षिक व व्यावसायिक आकांक्षा रखने के लिए न तो प्रेरित किया जाता है न ही उन्हें पूरा करने के उचित अवसर दिए जाते हैं। अधिक से अधिक उन्हें सामान्य शिक्षा व परंपरागत व्यवसायों में जाने की ही छूट दी जाती है। अतः स्कूल का कर्तव्य है कि बालिकाओं की अभिरुचियां व योग्यताएं पहचान कर उन्हें आगे बढ़ने में यथासंभव सहायता करें तथा उनके माता-पिता से सम्पर्क बनाए रखें। इसके लिए स्कूल में कांउसलर की भी सहायता ली जा सकती है जो उन्हें शैक्षिक व व्यावसायिक क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ने में यथासंभव मार्गदर्शन दे सके। बालिकाओं में आत्मविश्वास जगाने के लिए तथा उनके सामने आदर्श प्रस्तुत करने के लिए समय-समय पर स्थानीय प्रतिभावान महिलाओं को स्कूल में आमंत्रित किया जा सकता है।

यदि पाठ्यक्रम से लिंग भेद का उन्मूलन कर दिया जाए तो निश्चित रूप से बालिकाओं का आत्मविश्वास बढ़ेगा। उनकी आत्म छवि भी सुधरेगी। वे अपने आप को पहचानने लगेंगीं तथा उनमें कठिनाइयों के बावजूद शिक्षा जारी रखने की भावना प्रबल होगी जो आगे चलकर उनके लिए शैक्षिक तथा व्यावसायिक अवसरों का लाभ उठाने में सहायक होगी। उससे महिला सशक्तिकरण के साथ-साथ समाज व राष्ट्र भी आधी जनसंख्या की वास्तविक प्रतिभा से लाभान्वित हो सकेगा। □□

उत्तर प्रदेश में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा : क्रियान्वयन, बाधाएं एवं निराकरण

प्रदीप कुमार मिश्र

प्रवक्ता
इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ एडवान्स्ड स्टडीज़ इन एजूकेशन
रुहेलखंड विश्वविद्यालय, बरेली

यद्यपि व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की परंपरा तो हमारे देश में वैदिक काल से ही चली आ रही है, तथापि औपचारिक ढंग से शिक्षा जगत में (हाई स्कूल एवं माध्यमिक स्तर पर) इसका समावेश करने की संकल्पना हर्टाग समिति की रिपोर्ट (1929) में दिए गए सुझावों के अनुसार की गई।

राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 1986 के क्रियान्वयन हेतु बनाए गए 'प्रोग्राम ऑफ एक्शन' में दिए गए सुझावों के अनुसार व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम, उ. प्र. के 47 माध्यमिक विद्यालयों में प्रारंभ करने का निर्णय किया गया। प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के क्रियान्वयन में उत्पन्न बाधाओं का वर्णन करते हुए उनका निराकरण करने के बहुत सटीक सुझाव दिए हैं जिनमें 'इंटीग्रेटेड एप्रोच' को अपनाने पर खास ज़ोर है।

वर्तमान समाज में हाथ से किए जाने वाले कार्य एवं इसे करने वालों को मानसिक श्रम करने वालों की तुलना में हेय दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। इस धारणा के चलते छात्र/छात्राओं में शारीरिक श्रम के प्रति अरुचि एवं उनके अंदर कार्य संस्कृति की व्यापक कमी दृष्टिगोचर हो रही है। यदि छात्रों को किसी विधि द्वारा उनकी प्रारंभिक शैक्षिक अवस्था से ही इस ओर प्रेरित कर दिया जाए कि विभिन्न प्रकार के जीवनोपयोगी कार्य जिनके लिए वे आज दूसरों पर निर्भर हैं, उनके द्वारा स्वयं भी संचालित किए जा सकते हैं तो निश्चित रूप से वे श्रम, श्रमिक एवं कार्य संस्कृति के महत्व को भली-भांति समझ कर स्वीकार कर सकेंगे। छात्रों को प्रारंभ में दी गई यह दिशा पूरे जीवन भर उनके मार्गदर्शन में सहायक होगी एवं उन्हें तथा राष्ट्र का विकास और उन्नति के पथ पर ले जाने में महती भूमिका का निर्वाह करेगी। इन तथ्यों को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए, वर्तमान में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की आधारशिला रखी गई है।

पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की संकल्पना का जन्म हर्टाग समिति (1929) की इस संस्तुति के साथ हुआ कि हाईस्कूल एवं माध्यमिक स्तर पर कुछ 'प्रिपरेट्री कोर्सेस' प्रारंभ किए जाएं जो छात्रों द्वारा भविष्य में ग्रहण की जाने वाली व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का आधार बन सकें। बुड एबट रिपोर्ट (1937) ने जूनियर लेवल पर व्यावसायिक विद्यालय खोलने की अनुशंसा की एवं इन्हें सामान्य विद्यालयों के समतुल्य मानने का सुझाव दिया। शिक्षा आयोग (1964-66) में समस्त शिक्षा प्रणाली को कृषि और औद्योगिक उत्पादन से जोड़ने तथा इस दृष्टि से कि विद्यार्थियों का ज्ञान पुस्तकीय ज्ञान तक सीमित न रहें अपितु व्यावहारिक क्षेत्रों में भी उपयोगी हो, 'विद्यालय जगत' और 'कार्यजगत' के मध्य विद्यमान खाई को कार्यानुभव द्वारा भरने एवं शिक्षा को व्यावहारिक जीवन की वास्तविकताओं से जुड़ने का सुझाव दिया गया।

राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति (1986) के क्रियान्वयन हेतु बनाए गए 'प्रोग्राम ऑफ एक्शन' में कहा गया कि प्रयोग के तौर पर कक्षा 8 के बाद विद्यार्थियों के लिए व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम विभिन्न प्रदेशों में लागू किए जाएंगे। इसमें अनुमान व्यक्त किया गया कि कुल छात्र संख्या में से लगभग 80 प्रतिशत छात्र/छात्राएं कक्षा 10 से आगे की शिक्षा ग्रहण नहीं करते एवं लगभग 20 लाख छात्र/छात्राएं कक्षा 10 तो उत्तीर्ण करते हैं किन्तु कक्षा 12 को पार नहीं करते। ये सभी अकुशल

श्रमिकों का एक ऐसा समुदाय बन जाते हैं जिन्हें किसी प्रकार के कौशल को विकसित करने के लिए सुअवसर की आवश्यकता है ताकि वे कुशल जनशक्ति बन सकें।

राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति (1986) की समीक्षा हेतु गठित राममूर्ति समिति (1992) की संस्तुतियों के आधार पर माध्यमिक स्तर पर शिक्षा ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की कुल संख्या के 25 प्रतिशत को सन 2000 तक +2 स्तर पर लागू व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की धारा की ओर मोड़ने का लक्ष्य रखा गया। वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति में बहुत सारी कठिनाइयां सामने आ रही हैं जिसमें सर्वाधिक प्रमुख हैं विद्यार्थियों के अंदर +2 स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा में प्रवेश लेने हेतु व्यावसायिक रुचि, दक्षता एवं कौशल का अभाव। इस तथ्य को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए राममूर्ति समिति ने अपनी संस्तुति में कहा कि व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कक्षा 8 के बाद ही प्रारंभ की जानी चाहिए और कक्षा 9 से लेकर कक्षा 12 तक की चार वर्षों की अवधि माध्यमिक स्तर की मानी जानी चाहिए। 'राममूर्ति समिति' की संस्तुतियों पर सम्यक विचार करते हुए सेण्ट्रल एडवाइज़री बोर्ड ऑफ एजूकेशन (सी० ए० बी० ई०) ने सहमति व्यक्त की और कहा कि कक्षा 9-10 में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा चरणबद्ध तरीके से लागू की जानी चाहिए।

पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का तात्पर्य उस व्यवस्था से है जो व्यावसायिक शिक्षा प्रारंभ करने के पूर्व की स्थिति को इंगित करती है। पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा छात्र को व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का प्रारंभिक ज्ञान प्रदान कर उसके प्रति सकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण तथा कौशल विकसित करने हेतु आधार प्रदान करती है। सामान्य रूप से पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का प्रयोजन, हाई स्कूल स्तर पर विद्यार्थियों को व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का प्रारंभिक ज्ञान प्रदान कर उनमें अभिवृत्ति व कौशल का इतना विकास करा देना है जिससे वे माध्यमिक स्तर (कक्षा 11 तथा 12, जिनमें इस समय व्यावसायिक शिक्षा लागू है) पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की धारा में प्रवेश लेने हेतु अभिप्रेरित हो सकें एवं कार्य संस्कृति की उपयोगिता को समझते हुए उसके प्रति आदर भाव विकसित कर सकें।

पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के उद्देश्य

उपर्युक्त वर्णित संस्तुतियों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में उत्तर प्रदेश शासन द्वारा सत्र 1995-96 से माध्यमिक स्तर पर लागू व्यावसायिक शिक्षा को और अधिक प्रभावी बनाने की दृष्टि से कक्षा 9-10 में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा लागू करने का निर्णय लिया गया। कक्षा 9-10 में लागू की गई इस पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना के उद्देश्य हैं :

- ❑ विद्यार्थियों को व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के महत्व एवं वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में इसकी आवश्यकता से अवगत कराना एवं इसके प्रति प्राथमिक रुचि उत्पन्न करना।
- ❑ विद्यार्थियों में सामाजिक दृष्टि से उपयोगी और उत्पादक कार्य को सीखने की सूझ-बूझ (क्षमता) और समस्या समाधान का कौशल विकसित करना।
- ❑ कक्षा 9-10 के छात्र/छात्राओं में साधारण बाजार योग्य कौशल विकसित करना।
- ❑ छात्र/छात्राओं में व्यावसायिक अभिरुचि उत्पन्न करना जिससे वे स्वरोज़गार चुनने को प्राथमिकता दे सकें।
- ❑ माध्यमिक स्तर पर छात्र/छात्राओं को उपर्युक्त ट्रेड का चयन करने एवं उसका प्रशिक्षण प्राप्त करने हेतु आधार भूमि प्रदान करना।
- ❑ छात्र/छात्राओं में अंतर्निहित क्षमताओं के अनुकूल व्यवसाय चयन करने में सहायता प्रदान करना।

क्रियान्वयन

+2 स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना को लागू करने वाली "केंद्र पुरोनिर्धारित योजना" के अंतर्गत उत्तर प्रदेश शासन द्वारा 1 जुलाई, 1995 से प्रदेश के 47 माध्यमिक विद्यालयों (जिनमें +2 स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा पूर्व से ही लागू है) में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा को प्रारंभ करने का निर्णय लिया गया। इस योजना को क्रियान्वित करने के लिए माध्यमिक शिक्षा परिषद, उत्तर प्रदेश द्वारा निम्न निर्णय लिए गए :

- ❑ पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना को कक्षा 9-10 में संप्रति एक अनिवार्य विषय के रूप में निर्धारित 'नैतिक, शारीरिक शिक्षा एवं समाजोपयोगी उत्पादक कार्य' के अन्तर्गत प्रारंभ किया गया।
- ❑ पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना के अंतर्गत 'ट्रेड्स' के

अध्यापन का कार्य नैतिक, शारीरिक शिक्षा एवं समाजोपयोगी उत्पादक कार्यों के लिए निर्धारित कालांशों के अंतर्गत कराना।

- ❑ ट्रेड विषयों का मूल्यांकन आंतरिक रूप से कराया जाएगा तथा विद्यार्थियों को मूल्यांकन के आधार पर ग्रेड प्रदान करने की व्यवस्था है।
- ❑ जिन 47 माध्यमिक विद्यालयों में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना लागू की गई उसमें कक्षा 9-10 में ट्रेड्स का चयन, इन विद्यालयों में माध्यमिक स्तर पर चल रहे ट्रेड्स के अनुरूप ही करने की व्यवस्था।
- ❑ प्रत्येक विद्यालय में 3-4 व्यावसायिक ट्रेड्स लागू करना एवं प्रति ट्रेड में अधिकतम 25 छात्र/छात्राओं को प्रवेश देने की व्यवस्था।

विद्यालयों को पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा हेतु दिया गया अनुदान

पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा प्रदान करने वाले विद्यालयों को उपकरणों के क्रय, कच्चे माल, उपभोग वस्तु, आनुसांगिक व्यय एवं अध्यापकों के वेतन हेतु एक मुश्त रु. 85,000/- की धनराशि प्रदान की गई है। जिसमें रु. 40,000/- ट्रेड उपकरणों की खरीद, रु. 40,000/- अध्यापकों की व्यवस्था एवं रु. 5,000/- अन्य कार्यों के लिए आबंटित हैं। पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा प्रदान करने के लिए वर्कशेड निर्माण हेतु कोई धन उपलब्ध नहीं कराया गया है, इसके लिए पूर्व में उपलब्ध वर्कशेड को ही इस्तेमाल करने का सुझाव दिया गया है।

योजना के अंतर्गत संचालित ट्रेड्स

भारत सरकार द्वारा निर्धारित दिशा निर्देशों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में उत्तर प्रदेश शासन द्वारा 47 माध्यमिक विद्यालयों में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा लागू करने के लिए निम्न 20 ट्रेड्स का चयन किया गया, ज्ञातव्य रहे कि ये सभी ट्रेड चयनित विद्यालयों में +2 स्तर पर पहले से ही उपलब्ध हैं :

1. टेक्सटाइल डिज़ाइन
2. पुस्तकालय विज्ञान
3. पाक शास्त्र
4. फोटोग्राफी
5. बैकिंग एवं कंफेक्शनरी
6. फसल सुरक्षा
7. बुनाई तकनीक
8. मधुमक्खी पालन
9. पौधशाला
10. धुलाई/रंगाई
11. आटोमोबाइल्स बैंकिंग
12. फल संरक्षण
13. टंकण
14. मुद्रण
15. खाद्य संरक्षण
16. एकाउंटेंसी एवं अंकेक्षण
17. आशुलिपिक एवं टंकण
18. बैंकिंग
19. परिधान सूचना एवं सज्जा
20. रेडियो एवं टेलीविजन मेंटीनेंस

विद्यार्थी पंजीकरण एवं परीक्षा

पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा में प्रवेश लेने वाले छात्र/छात्राओं की संख्या निर्धारित है। परिषद के निर्देशानुसार प्रत्येक ट्रेड में अधिकतम 25 छात्र/छात्राएं ही पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा ग्रहण कर सकते हैं अर्थात यदि एक विद्यालय में 4 ट्रेड लागू हैं तो अधिकतम विद्यार्थी संख्या 100 होगी अर्थात् एक सत्र में कक्षा 9 में 100 एवं कक्षा 10 में 100 (कुल 200) विद्यार्थी पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा ग्रहण करेंगे।

ट्रेड में 50 अंकों की सैद्धांतिक (लिखित) तथा 50 अंकों की प्रयोगात्मक परीक्षा की व्यवस्था है तथा इसका मूल्यांकन आंतरिक आधार पर किए जाने का निर्णय लिया गया है। विद्यालय द्वारा प्रदान किए गए मूल्यांकन को आधार मानते हुए माध्यमिक शिक्षा परिषद्, उत्तर प्रदेश विद्यार्थी की अंक तालिका में ग्रेड प्रदान करेगा।

कार्यक्रम के सफल क्रियान्यवन में उपस्थित बाधाएं

उपर्युक्त वर्णित तथ्यों के आलोक में यह स्पष्ट है कि +2 स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम को सफल बनाने एवं छात्रों में श्रम तथा कार्य संस्कृति के प्रति आदर भाव विकसित करने के लिए पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की महती आवश्यकता है। यहाँ पर यह उल्लेख प्रासंगिक होगा कि सन् 1988 में +2 स्तर पर लागू किए गए व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम के सामने आई बाधाओं और उनके चलते, कार्यक्रम द्वारा वांछित उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति न कर पाने की तरह इस पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के सफल क्रियान्वयन में भी बहुत सारी बाधाएं उपस्थित हैं इनमें से कुछ प्रमुख बाधाओं का उल्लेख निम्न बिंदुओं के अंतर्गत किया गया है :

- कार्यक्रम को प्रारंभ करने वाले विभिन्न निकायों यथा शासन, माध्यमिक शिक्षा परिषद एवं विद्यालयों के प्रधानाचार्यों के बीच तालमेल का स्पष्ट अभाव नजर आता है जिससे कार्यक्रम का प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन बहुत अधिक प्रभावित हो रहा है। उदाहरण के लिए विद्यालयों में यह योजना जुलाई, 95 से लागू की गई जबकि अक्तूबर, 96 तक विद्यालयों के प्रधानाचार्यों को कुछ मूलभूत प्रश्नों (यथा कि एक छात्र को कितने ट्रेड पढ़ने हैं, एक ट्रेड में कितने छात्रों को प्रवेश दिया जाना है एवं परीक्षा का आधार तथा तरीका क्या होगा, आदि) के उत्तर अस्पष्ट थे। अक्तूबर 96 के अंत में राज्य शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् द्वारा संपन्न की गई संगोष्ठी में इन बिंदुओं का स्पष्टीकरण संभव हो सका।
- शासन द्वारा विद्यालयों को उपकरणों की खरीद के लिए जो सूची प्रदान की गई है उसमें वस्तुओं के सन् 1986 के दाम अंकित हैं और उसी को आधार मानते हुए उपकरण खरीदने के लिए अनुदान आबंटित किया गया है। ऐसे में विद्यालयों द्वारा पूरे उपकरणों की खरीद संभव नहीं हो पा रही है और कार्यक्रम के प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन पर विपरीत प्रभाव पड़ रहा है।
- शासन द्वारा प्रति ट्रेड में 25 छात्र/छात्राओं के नामांकन की संकल्पना की गई है परंतु इसमें सबसे प्रमुख समस्या यह है कि प्रवेश हेतु विद्यार्थियों का चयन किस आधार पर किया जायेगा? साथ ही यदि निर्धारित सीमा से अधिक विद्यार्थी इस शिक्षा में अपनी सहभागिता चाहते हैं तब क्या किया जाएं ?
- पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा को पढ़ाने के लिए न तो किसी प्रकार के पूर्णकालिक शिक्षकों की व्यवस्था की गई है एवं न ही विद्यालय के शिक्षकों को अल्पकालीन प्रशिक्षण दें उन्हें इस शिक्षा के शिक्षण योग्य बनाने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है। यह शिक्षा योजना पूरी तरह अतिथि विषय विशेषज्ञों द्वारा शिक्षण पर निर्भर है, जिससे इस कार्यक्रम की सफलता संदिग्ध प्रतीत होती है ।
- इस शिक्षा के विद्यार्थियों के लिए उचित पाठ्य पुस्तकों की अनुपलब्धता एक बड़ी समस्या है। साथ ही प्रायोगिक कार्यों का संपूर्ण प्रशिक्षण प्रदान करने के लिए उपकरणों की कमी भी अनुभव की जा रही है।
- वर्तमान में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा को समाजोपयोगी उत्पादक कार्य की जगह पढ़ाया जा रहा है, विद्यार्थी को एक सप्ताह में प्रतिदिन एक कालांश में नैतिक शिक्षा, शारीरिक शिक्षा एवं पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का ज्ञान प्राप्त करना पड़ता है। इतने कम समय में ट्रेड के सैद्धांतिक एवं प्रायोगिक पक्ष का संपूर्ण ज्ञान प्रदान करना व्यावहारिक रूप से संभव प्रतीत नहीं होता।
- हाई स्कूल स्तर पर विद्यार्थी वर्तमान में 66 विषयों का अध्ययन कर रहे हैं। यदि वे पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा ग्रहण करते हैं तो उन्हें ट्रेड के प्रायोगिक एवं सैद्धांतिक पक्ष को जानने के लिए पर्याप्त श्रम और समय देना पड़ेगा। इसकी तुलना में वे छात्र जो पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा ग्रहण नहीं कर रहे हैं उन्हें अपने विषयों के अध्ययन हेतु अधिक समय मिल रहा है, जबकि दोनों प्रकार के छात्रों को समान परीक्षा देनी होगी। इस विसंगति के चलते इस शिक्षा में प्रवेश लेने वाले छात्रों की संख्या पर विपरीत प्रभाव पड़ने की संभावना है।
- पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के अंतर्गत ट्रेड के सैद्धांतिक एवं प्रायोगिक पक्ष के शिक्षण प्रशिक्षण का प्रावधान है।

इस शिक्षा को ग्रहण करने वाले विद्यार्थियों की संख्या को देखते हुए उपकरणों के रख-रखाव उनके मेंटीनेंस एवं विद्यार्थियों के लिए उन्हें इश्यू करने के लिए विद्यालय में एक पूर्णकालिक कर्मचारी (लैबवियरर) की नितांत आवश्यकता महसूस की जा रही है। वर्तमान में विद्यालयों में ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था उपलब्ध न होने के कारण, उपकरणों की ज़िम्मेवारी एवं रख-रखाव की व्यव्स्था करना एक ऐसा दुष्कर कार्य प्रतीत हो रहा है जिसे करने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है।

कार्यक्रम के सफल क्रियान्वयन हेतु सुझाव

कार्यक्रम के सफल क्रियान्वयन में उपस्थित उपर्युक्त वर्णित बाधाओं के निराकरण हेतु कुछ सुझाव प्रस्तुत किए जा रहे हैं जो कि पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के सफल क्रियान्वयन में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा सकेंगे :

1. शासन द्वारा विद्यालयों को स्वयं पूर्व व्यावसायिक पाठ्यक्रम आबंटित करने की अपेक्षा उत्सुक विद्यालयों से इस हेतु 'प्रपोज़ल्स' मांगना चाहिए। इन 'प्रपोज़ल्स' का मुख्य आधार विद्यालय में वर्तमान में उपलब्ध विभिन्न शैक्षिक सुविधाएं शिक्षकों की संख्या, क्षेत्र की भौगोलिक स्थिति, प्राकृतिक संसाधनों की उपलब्धता एवं उस क्षेत्र में रोज़गार संभावनाओं की विस्तृत जानकारी है। इन 'प्रपोज़ल्स' का मूल्यांकन करने के उपरांत ही पूर्व व्यावसायिक पाठ्यक्रम आबंटित करना उचित होगा।
2. वर्तमान में प्रारंभ की गई पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा मुख्यत: उन विद्यालयों में केंद्रित है जो कि शहरी क्षेत्रों में है जबकि हमारी 70 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निवास करती है अतएव पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम का पूर्ण लाभ लेने के जिए यह व्यवस्था सुनिश्चित की जाए कि यह ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में स्थापित विद्यालयों में व्यापक रूप्र से प्रारंभ हो।
3. क्षेत्र विशेष की आवश्यकताओं एवं वहां उपलब्ध प्राकृतिक संसाधनों को ध्यान में रखते हुए ही व्यावसायिक विषय चलाए जाएं । इन विषयों के पाठ्यक्रम निर्माण में इस बात का पूर्ण ध्यान रखा जाए कि विषयवस्तु में प्रायोगिक पक्षों की प्रधानता हो और सैद्धांतिक पक्ष सहयोगी भूमिका में हो।
4. पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा में मात्र कुछ विद्यार्थियों को प्रवेश देने के बजाय इसे सभी वर्गों के लिए अनिवार्य घोषित कर दिया जाए। यदि हम ज्यादा संख्या में छात्र/छात्राओं को भली प्रकार से पूर्व व्यावसायिक पाठ्यक्रम का ज्ञान प्रदान करने में सक्षम हो जाते हैं तो निश्चित रूप से इस कार्यक्रम हेतु वांछित उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति भली-भांति संभव हो सकेगी, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं ।
5. पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा में प्रवेश लेने वाले छात्रों के लिए प्रारंभ में 1-2 माह के 'ओरियंटेशन कार्यक्रम' की व्यवस्था का छात्र को विद्यालय में चल रहे सभी 'ट्रेड्स' की प्राथमिक जानकारी दी जानी चाहिए। इससे विद्यार्थी अपनी अभिरुचि के अनुसार अपने लिए उपयुक्त ट्रेड का चयन करने में सक्षम होगा।
6. पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा से जुड़े प्रत्येक विद्यालय में 'कैरियर मास्टर' या वहीं के किसी शिक्षक को प्रशिक्षित कर उनके माध्यम से व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के प्रति विद्यार्थियों की अभिरुचि एवं अभिक्षमताओं की पहचान की जानी चाहिए।
7. पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा प्रदान करने वाले प्रत्येक विद्यालय में कम से कम दो पूर्णकालिक व्यावसायिक शिक्षकों की नियुक्ति की जानी चाहिए। यदि विद्यालयों में व्यावसायिक शिक्षकों के लिए स्थान रिक्त नहीं है तो वहां से सामान्य विषय के कुछ शिक्षकों को उन विद्यालयों में स्थानांतरित किया जाना चाहिए जहां व्यावसायिक शिक्षा नहीं चल रही है एवं रिक्त हुए स्थानों पर व्यावसायिक विषय के शिक्षक नियुक्त किए जा सकते हैं।
8. इन सभी विद्यालयों में पूर्णकालिक व्यावसायिक शिक्षकों के अलावा 1 डिमांस्ट्रेटर/लैबबियरर का पूर्णकालिक पद भी सृजित किया जाना याहिए। इसकी नियुक्ति द्वारा विषय के प्रायोगिक पक्ष से संबद्ध विभिन्न समस्याओं का निराकरण संभव हो सकेगा।

9. पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के विद्यार्थियों द्वारा तैयार माल की प्रदर्शनी एवं उनके लिए वास्तविक कार्यस्थलों/उद्योगों के भ्रमण की समुचित व्यवस्था करना भी इस शिक्षा के लिए लाभप्रद सिद्ध होगा।

10. वर्तमान में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा हेतु प्रारंभ किए गए ट्रेड्स को विभिन्न वर्गों के अंतर्गत 'इंटीग्रेड एप्रोच' के तहत वर्गीकृत करना अधिक उपयुक्त होगा, इससे छात्र एक ट्रेड की बजाए पूरे एक वर्ग का अध्ययन कर सकेगा एवं आगे चलकर उसमें से एक ट्रेड विशेष का चयन करना उसके लिए अधिक सुविधाजनक एवं उचित होगा। ट्रेड्स का प्रस्तावित वर्गीकरण इस प्रकार है :

कृषि आधारित वर्ग	:	मशरूम उत्पादन, पान की खेती, सूरजमुखी की खेती, फूलों का उत्पादन
उद्यानिकी वर्ग	:	पौधशाला, बीज उत्पादन, फूल उत्पादन
पशुपालन वर्ग	:	पशुपालन, डेयरी प्रौद्योगिकी, पशु चिकित्सा, मधुमक्खी पालन, कुक्कट पालन, सूअर पालन
वैज्ञानिक एवं वैद्युतिकी वर्ग	:	रेडियो एवं टी. वी. मेंटीनेंस फोटोग्राफी, वीडियोग्राफी, घरेलू विद्युत उपकरण, वायरिंग
यांत्रिकी वर्ग	:	आटोमोबाइल्स, प्लमबरिंग
वाम्त्रिकी वर्ग	:	बुनाई, रंगाई-धुलाई वस्त्र रचना, परिधान रचना, फैशन डिजाइनिंग
खाद्यनिकी वर्ग	:	खाद्य संरक्षण, फल संरक्षण
वित्तीय वर्ग	:	एकाउंटेसी, बीमा, सचिवीय पद्धति
अन्य	:	मुद्रण, पुस्तकालय विज्ञान, प्लास्टिक उद्योग, बेंत से बने सामान, कालीन निर्माण, पीतल के बर्तन, मिट्टी के बर्तन, मोमबत्ती बनाना, चाक बनाना।

इन वर्गों में विविधता एवं लचीलापन रखना अनिवार्य होगा। साथ ही इस पाठ्यक्रम की सामाजिक जीवन से सीधी संबद्धता सुनिश्चित की जानी चाहिए एवं प्रत्येक 3-4 वर्षों बाद इस पाठ्यक्रम/वर्गों की समीक्षा कर इन्हें तत्कालीन आवश्यकताओं एवं परिस्थितियों के अनुसार संशोधित एवं उच्चकृत करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक होगा।

11. विभिन्न शैक्षिक संस्थानों यथा राज्य शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् एवं माध्यमिक शिक्षा परिषद्, उत्तर प्रदेश द्वारा पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा हेतु उचित पाठ्यक्रम पाठ्य पुस्तकों एवं शिक्षण अनुदेशन सामग्री की उपयुक्त रचना करना लाभप्रद होगा।

12. *प्रायः यह पाया गया है कि वे शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम जिनमें* मात्र आंतरिक मूल्यांकन की व्यवस्था की गई, वांछित उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति में असफल सिद्ध हुए। इस कमी को दूर करने के लिए पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा में बाह्य मूल्यांकन की व्यवस्था किसी बाह्य एजेंसी यथा 'डोयट' अथवा राज्य शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् द्वारा कराया जाना इस कार्यक्रम के सफल क्रियान्वयन की दिशा में एक सार्थक प्रयास होगा।

13. शोधकर्ता के अनुसार वर्तमान में +2 स्तर पर लागू व्यावसायिक शिक्षा प्रारंभ की गई पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा को सफल बनाने के लिए इसका जुड़ाव एक तरफ तो जूनियर हाईस्कूल के स्तर पर दी जा रही शिक्षा से होना चाहिए वहीं दूसरी ओर इसे स्नातक स्तर पर लागू व्यावसायिक शिक्षा से भी जोड़ा जाना चाहिए। इस जुड़ाव से छात्र को व्यावसायिक शिक्षा की एक ऐसी श्रृंखला प्राप्त होगी जिसके बल पर वह ट्रेड विशेष में इतने उच्च स्तर की दक्षता प्राप्त कर सकेगा, जिससे उसके द्वारा रोजगार/स्वरोजगार की प्राप्ति संभव हो सकेगी। इस श्रृंखला को और स्पष्ट करने के लिए उदाहरणस्वरूप 'फोटोग्राफी ट्रेड' के लिए कुछ मॉडल प्रस्तावित हैं :

यदि शिक्षाविदों, प्रधानाचार्यों, शिक्षकों एवं शैक्षिक नीति नियंताओं द्वारा इस प्रकार की व्यावसायिक शिक्षा श्रृंखला की उपयोगिता समझी जाती है तो अन्य ट्रेडस हेतु भी इस प्रकार की श्रृंखला बनाकर इसे जूनियर हाई स्कूल स्तर से लेकर +3 स्तर तक लागू किया जा सकता है।

उत्तर प्रदेश में जुलाई 95 से प्रारंभ की गई पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना के बारे में समग्र रूप से कहा जा

फोटोग्राफी ट्रेड के लिए कुछ प्रस्तावित मॉडल

कक्षा	(6,7,8,)	(9,10)	(11,12)	(13,14,15)
विषय	हिन्दी अंग्रेज़ी गणित विज्ञान इतिहास भूगोल कला * नैतिक शिक्षा/शारीरिक शिक्षा	हिन्दी अंग्रेज़ी विज्ञान I/II सामाजिक विज्ञान एक वैकल्पिक विषय * नैतिक शिक्षा, शारीरिक शिक्षा एवं समाजोपयोगी उत्पादक कार्य	हिन्दी कला वर्ग विज्ञान वर्ग * व्यावसायिक वर्ग	ऐच्छिक विषय * फोटाग्राफी एवं वीडियोग्राफी
प्रकृति	सामान्य शिक्षा	पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा	+2 स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्षा	+3 स्तर पर व्यावसायिक शिक्ष
शिक्षण/ प्रशिक्षण	छात्रों को तरह-तरह के फोटोग्राफ्स दिखाना वे कौन से फोटोग्राफ पसंद करते हैं पसंद का कारण नापसंद का कारण कुछ ऐसे स्थल या वस्तुओं की पहचान छात्र जिनके फोटोग्राफ्स लेना चाहेगा	कैमरे की सामान्य जानकारी छात्रों को विभिन्न पत्र पत्रिकाओं एवं अन्य स्रोतों से फोटोग्राफी संचित करने का प्रोत्साहन किसी प्रशिक्षक के निर्देशन में उनसे फोटोग्राफी करवाना छात्रों द्वारा खीचें गए फोटोग्राफ्स की कमियों एवं अच्छाइयों की पहचान छात्रों द्वारा खींचे गए फोटोग्राफ्स की प्रदर्शनी आयोजित करना	कैमरे के सभी अंगों की विस्तृत जानकारी विभिन्न प्रकार के लेंस एवं उनसे संबंधित जानकारी स्वतंत्र रूप से फोटोग्राफी स्वतंत्र रूप से डेवलपिंग ट्रिक फोटोग्राफी विद्यालय के सहयोग से विभिन्न कार्यक्रमों में छात्रों द्वारा फोटोग्राफी की व्यवस्था एवं धनार्जन क्षेत्र के विभिन्न विद्यालयों में चलाये जा रहे फोटोग्राफी ट्रेंड के बच्चों के बीच कम्पीटीशन एवं सर्वश्रेष्ठ को पुरस्कार	कलर फोटोग्राफी की विभिन्न विधियों से परिचय कलर लैब की स्थापना हेतु आवश्यक सुविधाओं की जानकारी वीडियोग्राफी से वीडियोग्राफी के बारे में पूर्ण जानकारी दोनों को एक साथ मिलकर रोज़गार प्राप्त करने की संभावनाओं की विस्तृत जानकारी।
वांछित उद्देश्य	छात्रों में फोटोग्राफी के प्रति सामान्य रुचि एवं अवधारणा विकसित करना।	छात्रों में फोटोग्राफी के प्रति रुचि एवं कैरियर के रूप में अपनाने की भावना उत्पन्न करना।	रोज़गार/सामान्य स्वरोज़गार	उच्च आर्थिक स्तर का स्वरोज़गार

सकता है कि यह योजना पूरे देश में लागू व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रमों को सफल बनाने के महती उद्देश्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए प्रारंभ की गई है। निश्चित रूप से इस योजना के सफल क्रियान्वयन में कुछ बाधाएं उपस्थित हैं। किंतु यदि प्रशासन, योजना से जुड़ी विभिन्न संस्थाएं और अधिकारीगण चाहें तो इनमें से विभिन्न समस्याओं का समाधान प्राप्त करने के साथ कार्यक्रम का सफल क्रियान्वयन सुनिश्चित हो सकता है। प्रपत्र प्रस्तुतकर्ता का यह विश्वास है कि राज्य सरकार पूर्ण व्यावसायिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम की वर्तमान स्थिति, उसके समक्ष उपस्थित बाधाओं और उनके निराकरण हेतु सुझाए गए बिंदुओं के परिप्रेक्ष्य में विद्यार्थियों को दी जा रही इस शिक्षा को अति उद्देश्य पूर्ण एवं सफल बनाने हेतु भरसक प्रयत्न करेगी।

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संदर्भ

1. उत्तर प्रदेश में केंद्र पुरोनिधानित योजना के अंतर्गत कक्षा 9-10 में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा लागू किए जाने की योजना, उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार द्वारा उपलब्ध प्रपत्र।
2. पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा योजना की वर्तमान स्थिति, माध्यमिक शिक्षा परिषद्, उत्तर प्रदेश, इलाहाबाद द्वारा उपलब्ध प्रपत्र।
3. प्रदेश में पूर्व व्यावसायिक शिक्षा के प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन का प्रयास, राज्य शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्, उत्तर प्रदेश द्वारा उपलब्ध विचार पत्रक।



परिवार बच्चों की प्रथम पाठशाला है।

आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में कार्यरत शिक्षकों के मूल्यों का अध्ययन

सुनील बाजपेयी

व्याख्याता
शासकीय उच्चतर माध्यमिक विद्यालय, झाबुआ

विद्यालय को आदर्श परिवेश बनाने एवं छात्रों में उच्च मूल्य प्रतिपादन में शिक्षक की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। इसके लिए अनिवार्य है कि अध्यापकों में भी उच्च आदर्श व मूल्य विद्यमान हों।

शिक्षकों में अनुकूल प्रतिमान के विकास के लिए शैक्षिक नीति निर्धारकों, शैक्षिक प्रशासकों, प्रशिक्षण संस्थाओं को सुझाव दिए जाएं। प्रस्तुत अध्ययन इस ओर एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रयास है।

आज का विद्यार्थी देश का भविष्य है। देश की प्रतिष्ठा, सांस्कृतिक विरासत के संरक्षण एवं उत्थान, आर्थिक विकास, राष्ट्रीय एकता, लोक कल्याण की भावना, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सद्भावना एवं विदेशी आक्रमणों से देश की सीमाओं की सुरक्षा का दायित्व भविष्य में इन्हीं भावी कर्णधारों के कंधों पर है। लेकिन यदि वर्तमान समय के परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखा जाए तो हम आज की युवा पीढ़ी में अनुशासनहीनता, कर्तव्यबोध की कमी, क्षेत्रवाद, संप्रदायवाद, जातिवाद , विघटनकारी तत्व एवं उग्र आतंकवाद आदि संकीर्ण भावनाएं अधिक पाते हैं। आज के विद्यार्थी प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति एवं नैतिकता से दूर हटते जा रहे हैं। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि छात्रों एवं नवयुवकों में जीवन के प्रारंभिक काल से ही ऐसे गुणों, संस्कारों तथा उच्च आदर्श भावनाओं का विकास किया जाए जो कि उनके व्यक्तिगत जीवन के लिए उपयोगी होने के साथ-साथ समाज, राष्ट्र एवं संपूर्ण प्राणी जगत के लिए उपयोगी हो।

मूल्य एक भावना है जो क्रियाओं से निर्मित होती है। व्यक्ति अपने सामाजिक, आर्थिक, भौगोलिक एवं सांस्कृतिक पर्यावरण से कुछ अनुभव एवं ज्ञान प्राप्त करता है, इसी के आधार पर उसके मूल्य प्रतिमानों का निर्माण होता है। जन्म के समय किसी भी व्यक्ति में निश्चित मूल्य प्रतिमान नहीं होता है। व्यक्ति में आयु के साथ-साथ अनुभव बढ़ते जाते हैं एवं इन्हीं अनुभवों के द्वारा व्यक्ति अपने लिए कुछ सामान्य सिद्धान्तों का निर्माण कर लेता है। ये सामान्य सिद्धांत उसके व्यवहार को दिशा-निर्देश प्रदान करते हैं एवं धीरे-धीरे व्यक्ति का विशिष्ट जीवनदर्शन निर्मित हो जाता है। यही सामान्य सिद्धान्त जो कि व्यक्ति व्यवहार को निर्देशित करते हैं तथा जीवन जीने की विशिष्ट कला को जन्म देते हैं, व्यक्ति के मूल्य कहलाते हैं। कुलकहीम (1981) के शब्दों में "मूल्य इच्छाओं के वे प्रत्यय हैं, जो चयनात्मक व्यवहार के लिए महत्वपूर्ण होते हैं। से एक विशेष प्रकार की अभिवृत्तियों भी होती हैं जो प्रतिमानों के रूप में कार्य करती हैं तथा जिसके द्वारा निर्णयों का मूल्यांकन होता है।''

छात्रों में वांछित गुणों के विकास में शिक्षक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा सकता है, क्योंकि छात्र प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से अध्यापक के व्यक्तित्व से प्रभावित होता है लेकिन एक अध्यापक छात्रों में आदर्श मूल्यों का विकास तभी कर सकता है, जबकि वह स्वयं भी उच्च आदर्श मूल्यों से परिपूर्ण हो। इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि शिक्षकों के "मूल्य प्रतिमान'' का अध्ययन किया जाए एवं उनमें वांछित मूल्यों के विकास हेतु प्रयास किए जाएं।

शिक्षकों के मूल्यों के विभिन्न पक्षों के साथ संबंध स्थापित करते हुए कुछ विद्वानों ने शोध कार्य किए हैं। कौल (1972) ने विद्यार्थियों के मध्य प्रिय एवं अप्रिय अध्यापकों के मूल्यों का अध्ययन किया और पाया कि विद्यार्थी के मध्य प्रिय अध्यापकों में सैद्धांतिक मूल्य, धार्मिक मूल्य एवं सैद्धांतिक मूल्य अधिक पाए गए। जबकि विद्यार्थियों के मध्य अप्रिय अध्यापकों

में आर्थिक एवं राजनैतिक मूल्य अधिक पाए गए । चंद्रा(1977) ने भी अपने अध्ययन में विद्यार्थियों के मध्य अप्रिय अध्यापकों में आर्थिक मूल्य अधिक पाया, जबकि कौल (1977) ने पाया कि विद्यर्थियों में अधिक प्रिय अध्यापिकाओं में सैद्धांतिक मूल्य अधिक हैं।

मेहता (1973) ने अपने अध्ययन में महिला एवं पुरुष शिक्षक प्रशिक्षार्थियों के मूल्यों में सार्थक रूप से अंतर पाया। पुरुष शिक्षक की अपेक्षा महिला शिक्षक में सैद्धांतिक एवं आर्थिक मूल्य सार्थक रूप से अधिक थे, जबकि महिला शिक्षकों में पुरुष शिक्षकों की तुलना में सैद्धांतिक तथा धार्मिक मूल्य अधिक थे। शाह एवं अन्य (1990) ने अपने अध्ययन से निष्कर्ष निकाला कि अध्यापिकाओं में अध्यापकों की तुलना में सौन्दर्यात्मक एवं मानवीय मूल्य अधिक थे, जबकि अध्यापकों में अध्यापिकाओं की तुलना में ज्ञान और सृजनात्मक मूल्य अधिक पाए गए। कुमारी एम० (1981) ने शिक्षकों के मूल्यों पर निवास स्थान (ग्रामीण/शहरी) के प्रभाव का अध्ययन किया और पाया कि शहरी शिक्षकों में ग्रामीण शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा भौतिक मूल्य अधिक पाया गया, जबकि शहरी शिक्षिकाओं में ग्रामीण शिक्षिकाओं की तुलना में आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक मूल्यों की अधिकता पाई गई।

रेस्चर (1969) एवं रेड्डी (1976) ने अध्यापकों की शैक्षिक उपलब्धि का मूल्यों पर प्रभाव का अध्ययन किया एवं पाया कि शैक्षिक योग्यता का अध्यापकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता है। रेस्चर (1969) ने भी यह निष्कर्ष प्रतिपादित किया कि शिक्षण अनुभव अध्यापकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान को प्रभावित नहीं करता है। वेतनमानों का अध्यापकों के मूल्यों पर प्रभाव का अध्ययन करते हुए शाह एवं अन्य (1990) ने पाया कि प्रवक्ता वेतनमान के अध्यापकों में एल० टी० वेतनमान के अध्यापकों की तुलना में ज्ञान, सौन्दर्य एवं सृजनात्मक मूल्य अधिक पाए गए, जबकि एल० टी० वेतनमान के अध्यापकों में प्रवक्ता वेतनमान के अध्यापकों की तुलना में मानवीय मूल्य अधिक पाया गया। शर्मा एवं सिन्हा (1987) ने माध्यमिक विद्यालय की शिक्षिकाओं एवं महाविद्यालय की शिक्षिकाओं के मूल्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन किया और पाया कि इन दोनों समूह की शिक्षिकाओं में सामाजिक, राजनैतिक एवं व्यक्तिगत मूल्य समान रूप से विद्यमान थे, जबकि माध्यमिक विद्यालय की शिक्षिकाओं में महाविद्यालयों की शिक्षिकाओं की तुलना में धार्मिक एवं आर्थिक मूल्य सार्थक रूप से अधिक थे।

उपरोक्त शोध अध्ययनों के परिणाम स्वरूप यह स्पष्ट होता है कि शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान पर लिंग भेद, निवास स्थान, शैक्षिक उपलब्धि, आयु आदि विभिन्न कारकों का प्रभाव पड़ता है। मूल्यों के अध्ययन से संबंधित साहित्य के पुनरावलोकन से यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि अभी तक जो भी अध्ययन हुआ है, वह केवल मूल्य अध्ययन की समस्या के ऊपरी सतह को ही छू पाया है। इस राज्य में अनुसूचित जनजाति की अधिकतम संख्या वाले मध्य प्रदेश जनजाति के उत्थान एवं उनको मुख्यधारा में लाने के लिए छात्रों में वांछित मूल्यों के विकास में अध्यापक की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। छात्र प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से अध्यापक के व्यक्तित्व से प्रभावित होता है, लेकिन अध्यापक अपने छात्रों में आदर्श मूल्यों का विकास तभी कर सकता है, जब वह स्वयं भी आदर्श मूल्यों से परिपूर्ण हो। अतः अनुसूचित जनजाति के बालक/बालिकाओं में उच्च मूल्यों के विकास के लिए वहां पर कार्यरत शिक्षकों के मूल्यों का अध्ययन करना आवश्यक है। अतः ज्ञान की इसी आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखते हुए प्रस्तुत शोध अध्ययन आदिवासी क्षेत्र में कार्यरत शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्रतिमानों का जाति, लिंग भेद, निवास स्थान (परिवेश) शिक्षक की योग्यता की भिन्नता के आधार पर मध्य प्रदेश के झाबुआ जिले के शिक्षकों का अध्ययन किया गया।

उद्देश्य

- महिला एवं पुरुष शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान का अध्ययन करना।
- ग्रामीण एवं शहरी शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान का अध्ययन करना।
- प्रशिक्षित एवं अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान का अध्ययन करना।
- विभिन्न जाति (आदिवासी, हरिजन, पिछड़ावर्ग एवं सामान्य जाति) के शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्रतिमान का अध्ययन करना।

परिकल्पनाएं

- ❑ महिला और पुरुष शिक्षकों के विभिन्न मूल्यों के मध्य कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।
- ❑ ग्रामीण एवं शहरी शिक्षकों के विभिन्न मूल्यों के मध्य कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं।
- ❑ प्रशिक्षित एवं अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों के मूल्यों के मध्य कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।
- ❑ आदिवासी जाति एवं सामान्य जाति के शिक्षकों के विभिन्न मूल्यों के मध्य कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।
- ❑ आदिवासी एवं हरिजन जाति के शिक्षकों के मूल्य में कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।
- ❑ आदिवासी एवं पिछड़ा वर्ग के शिक्षकों के मूल्य में कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।

न्यादर्श

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में मध्य प्रदेश राज्य के झाबुआ ज़िले (आदिवासी बाहुल्य ज़िला) के शिक्षकों के विभिन्न मूल्यों के अध्ययन के लिए कोटा एवं उद्देश्य पद्धति के द्वारा न्यादर्श इकाईयों का चयन किया गया। इसके लिए ज़िले की 6 तहसीलों में से एक तहसील मुख्यालय के सभी विद्यालय के शिक्षकों का एवं ज़िले की एक तहसील के ग्रामीण विद्यालय के शिक्षकों का चयन किया गया, जिसमें 196 पुरुष एवं 96 महिला, इस प्रकार कुल 292 शिक्षकों को कोटा एवं उद्देश्यपूर्ण न्यादर्श पद्धति के द्वारा चयन किया गया जिससे कि प्रभावपूर्ण एवं सार्थक निष्कर्ष निकल सकें।

अध्ययन उपकरण

इस अध्ययन हेतु शिक्षकों के मूल्य मापन के लिए डॉ. एस. पी. कुलश्रेष्ठ के द्वारा अनुकूलित एवं भारतीय परिस्थितियों में मानकीकृत अलपोर्ट वर्नन एवं लिंडज़े के मूल्य अध्ययन प्रश्नावली का प्रयोग किया गया। इस मूल्य मापनी में कुल 45 प्रश्नों के द्वारा सैद्धांतिक, आर्थिक, सौन्दर्यात्मक, सामाजिक, राजनैतिक एवं धार्मिक मूल्यों का मापन किया जाता है। उपकरण की वैधता एवं विश्वसनीयता उच्च स्तर की निर्धारित की गई है।

संमकों का विश्लेषण एवं विवेचना

अध्ययन के लिए महिला/पुरुष, ग्रामीण/शहरी, प्रशिक्षित/अप्रशिक्षित, आदिवासी/सामान्य,हरिजन/पिछड़ा वर्ग के शिक्षकों के मूल्य संमकों का मध्यमान, मानक विचलन एवं टी-परीक्षण आदि सांख्यिकीय तकनीक का उपयोग किया गया।

तालिका 1

महिला एवं पुरुष शिक्षकों के मूल्यों के प्राप्तांकों का मध्यमान, प्रमाण विचलन एवं टी- मान

.05=1.97
.01=2.59
डी. एफ. = 290

	महिला (96)		पुरुष (96)			
मूल्य	मध्यमान	प्रमाण विचलन	मध्यमान	प्रमाण विचलन	टी-मान	सार्थकता स्तर
सैद्धांतिक	41.77	5.39	38.58	7.09	3.01	.01
आर्थिक	39.52	5.59	36.79	5.46	2.79	.01
सौंदर्यात्मक	38.15	4.71	39.74	5.68	1.79	एन. एस.
सामाजिक	39.83	7.00	39.76	6.62	0.06	एन. एस.
राजनैतिक	41.83	6.35	40.90	6.58	0.82	एन. एस.
धार्मिक	41.98	6.76	38.29	7.05	3.05	.01

तालिका 1 को देखने से स्पष्ट होता है कि महिला और पुरुष शिक्षकों में सौंदर्यात्मक, सामाजिक एवं राजनैतिक मूल्य समान रूप से विद्यमान हैं, क्योंकि इन मूल्यों के प्राप्तांकों का मध्यमानों में महिला और पुरुषों में सार्थक रूप से अंतर नहीं है। इस हेतु टी-मान क्रमशः 1.79, 0.06 एवं 0.82 जो कि 0.05 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से कम है। महिला शिक्षकों में सैद्धांतिक, आर्थिक एवं धार्मिक मूल्य पुरुष शिक्षकों की तुलना में अधिक है। इन मूल्यों की टी-मान क्रमशः 3.01, 2.79 एवं 3.05 है जो कि 0.01 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से अधिक है।

तालिका 2 को देखने से स्पष्ट होता है कि ग्रामीण एवं शहरी शिक्षकों के सौंदर्यात्मक एवं राजनैतिक मूल्य के प्राप्तांकों के मध्यमानों में सार्थक रूप से कोई अंतर नहीं है, क्योंकि इन मूल्यों के टी-मान क्रमशः 0.12 एवं 0.38 हैं, जो कि 0.05 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से बहुत कम हैं। ग्रामीण शिक्षकों में आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक मूल्य शहरी शिक्षकों

तालिका 2

ग्रामीण एवं शहरी शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्राप्तांकों का मध्यमान, प्रमाण विचलन एवं टी-मान

	ग्रामीण (80)		शहरी (212)			
मूल्य	मध्यमान	प्रमाण विचलन	मध्यमान	प्रमाण विचलन	टी-मान	सार्थकता स्तर
सैद्धांतिक	40.03	5.70	42.31	6.02	2.13	.05
आर्थिक	39.35	4.18	36.72	6.15	2.96	.01
सौंदर्यात्मक	39.00	5.96	38.87	6.21	0.12	एन. एस.
सामाजिक	41.66	3.79	38.32	6.71	3.19	.01
राजनैतिक	40.88	6.04	41.32	6.70	0.38	एन. एस.
धार्मिक	42.75	3.79	40.04	3.16	4.04	.01

डी. एफ. =290

तालिका 3

प्रशिक्षित एवं अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों के मूल्य प्राप्तांकों का मध्यमान, प्रमाण विचलन एवं टी-मान

	प्रशिक्षित (90)		अप्रशिक्षत (202)			
मूल्य	मध्यमान	प्रमाण विचलन	मध्यमान	प्रमाण विचलन	टी-मान	सार्थकता स्तर
सैद्धांतिक	38.62	6.52	40.04	6.80	1.29	एन. एस.
आर्थिक	39.40	4.93	36.77	5.69	2.82	.01
सौंदर्यात्मक	37.20	4.79	39.81	7.73	2.49	.05
सामाजिक	37.84	6.65	40.41	6.68	2.16	.05
राजनैतिक	42.18	4.96	40.76	7.05	1.40	एन. एस.
धार्मिक	40.84	6.44	41.86	7.31	0.85	एन. एस.

डी. एफ.= 290

की तुलना में अधिक हैं इन मूल्यों का टी-मान क्रमश: 2.96, 3.19 एवं 4.04 हैं जो कि 0.01 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से अधिक है, जिससे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि इन मूल्यों में ग्रामीण व शहरी शिक्षकों में सार्थक रूप से अंतर पाया जाता है, जबकि शहरी शिक्षकों में सैद्धांतिक मूल्य ग्रामीण शिक्षकों से अधिक पाया गया, क्योंकि इनके मूल्य के प्राप्तांकों का मध्यमान में सार्थक रूप से अंतर पाया गया, सैद्धांतिक मूल्य का टी-मान 2.13 है, जो कि 0.05 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से अधिक है।

तालिका 3 के विश्लेषण से यह ज्ञात होता है कि प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों में आर्थिक मूल्य अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा अधिक पाया गया, क्योंकि इस मूल्य के प्राप्तांक के मध्यमान में सार्थक अंतर है। इसका टी-मान 2.82 है जो कि .01 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से अधिक है। अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों में सौंदर्यात्मक एवं सामाजिक मूल्य प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों की तुलना में अधिक पाया गया, क्योंकि इस मूल्यों के मध्यमानों में सार्थक रूप से अंतर है। इनका टी-मान क्रमश: 2.49 एवं 2.16 है जो कि 0.05 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से अधिक है। सैद्धांतिक, राजनैतिक एवं धार्मिक मूल्यों में इन दोनों समूहों में .01 एवं .05 सार्थकता स्तर के मान से इनके टी-मान बहुत कम हैं। अत: ये मूल्य समान रूप से इन समूहों में विद्यमान हैं।

परिणामों की व्याख्या

तालिका 1 से स्पष्ट होता है कि महिला शिक्षक में पुरूष शिक्षक की तुलना में सैद्धांतिक, आर्थिक मूल्य अधिक पाए गए। महिला शिक्षक ईश्वर में विश्वास, धार्मिक मान्यताओं को मानना, पाप, पुण्य, घर को सुचारू रूप से संचालित करना आदि गुणों से परिपूर्ण रहती हैं। परिवार की प्रतिष्ठा एवं एकता बनाए रखने में नारी की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। यही कारण हो सकता है कि महिला शिक्षकों में सैद्धांतिक, आर्थिक एवं धार्मिक मूल्य अधिक पाए गए। मेहता (1973), छाबड़ा (1975) ने भी महिला शिक्षकों में धार्मिक मूल्य अधिक पाया।

तालिका क्रमांक 2 से स्पष्ट होता है कि ग्रामीण शिक्षकों में शहरी शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा धार्मिक, सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक मूल्य सार्थक रूप से अधिक है। ग्रामीण शिक्षकों में ग्रामीण पर्यावरण के प्रभाव से समाज सहायता, दया,प्रेम, सहानुभूति, मानव सेवा, मितव्ययी होना आदि गुणों का प्रभाव शहरी शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा अधिक पाया गया। ग्रामीण परिवेश ने पुरानी परम्पराएं, धार्मिक भावनाएं, सामाजिक एकता, सहयोग, प्रेम एवं त्याग की भावना अधिक रहती है। इसी कारण ग्रामीण शिक्षकों में धार्मिक, सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक मूल्य शहरी शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा अधिक पाए जाते हैं।

शहरी शिक्षकों में ग्रामीण शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा सैद्धांतिक मूल्य सार्थक रूप से अधिक है। इसका कारण शहरों के व्यक्तियों की जीवनचर्या में एक यांत्रिकीकरण जैसा प्रभाव होता है। व्यक्ति की संवेदनाएं कमजोर पड़ती जाती हैं अत: शहरी शिक्षकों में इस कारण से संभवत: सैद्धांतिक मूल्य अधिक हो सकते हैं।

तालिका 3 के निरीक्षण से यह ज्ञात होता है कि प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों में आर्थिक मूल्य अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा सार्थक रूप में अधिक हैं। प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों मे सामाजिक एवं पर्यावरणीय समायोजन की क्षमता अधिक हो जाती है। सम्भवत: इस कारण से उनमें आर्थिक मूल्य अधिक होता है।

अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों में सौन्दर्यात्मक एवं सामाजिक मूल्य सार्थक रूप से प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा अधिक है। अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षक चूंकि अध्यापन सेवा के नवागन्तुक होते हैं, अपने जीवन की नई कल्पनाएं लिए होते हैं तथा उनमें सामाजिक चेतना, प्रेम, त्याग की भावना अधिक होती है। सम्भवतया: इसी कारण से उनमें सौन्दर्यात्मक एवं सामाजिक मूल्य अधिक होते हैं।

निष्कर्ष

- प्रस्तुत अध्ययन से निम्नलिखित निष्कर्ष प्रातपादित किए गए हैं: महिला शिक्षकों में धार्मिक, आर्थिक एवं सैद्धांतिक मूल्य पुरुष शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा सार्थक रूप से अधिक पाए गए।
- ग्रामीण शिक्षकों में धार्मिक एवं सामाजिक मूल्य शहरी शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा सार्थक रूप से अधिक पाए गए।
- शहरी शिक्षकों में सैद्धांतिक मूल्य ग्रामीण शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा सार्थक रूप से अधिक पाए गए।
- प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों में आर्थिक मूल्य अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों की अपेक्षा सार्थक रूप से अधिक पाए गए।

- अप्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों में सौंदर्यात्मक एवं सामाजिक मूल्य प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों की तुलना में सार्थक रूप से अधिक पाए गए।

शोध अध्ययन का शैक्षिक महत्व

व्यक्ति के जन्म के समय उसमें किसी भी प्रकार के जीवन मूल्य नहीं पाए जाते हैं। जैसे-जैसे वह बड़ा होता है, अपने पारिवारिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं सांस्कृतिक पर्यावरण से प्राप्त अनुभव के द्वारा उसके मूल्यों का एक प्रतिमान बनता है। व्यक्ति के व्यवहार पर उसके मूल्यों का प्रभाव पड़ता है। और व्यक्ति के व्यवहार निर्धारण में बाल्यकाल की अवस्था सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण अवस्था होती है। इस अवस्था में बच्चा अधिकांश समय अपने परिवार, मित्रों के साथ एवं विद्यालय में रहता है। अतः बच्चे में उच्च आदर्श एवं रचनात्मक मूल्य प्रतिमान के विकास के लिए अनुकूल पारिवारिक एवं सामाजिक पर्यावरण के साथ-साथ आदर्श विद्यालय पर्यावरण भी आवश्यक है। विद्यालय के आदर्श पर्यावरण के निर्माण एवं छात्रों में उच्च मूल्य प्रतिमान के सृजन में शिक्षक की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। लेकिन इसके लिए अनिवार्य है कि अध्यापकों में भी उच्च, आदर्श मूल्य विद्यमान हों।

शिक्षकों में अनुकुल मूल्य प्रतिमान के विकास के लिए उनके मूल्यों का अध्ययन किया जाए एवं प्राप्त निष्कर्ष के द्वारा शैक्षिक नीति निर्धारकों, शैक्षिक प्रशासकों, प्रशिक्षण संस्थाओं को सुझाव दिए जाएं। प्रस्तुत अध्ययन इस ओर एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रयास है।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन के निष्कर्ष के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि मध्यप्रदेश के आदिवासी क्षेत्र के झाबुआ जिले के शिक्षकों में शिक्षक व्यवसाय के लगभग अनुकूल मूल्य प्रतिमान हैं। इस दिशा में नीति निर्धारकों, प्रशिक्षण संस्थाओं को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए ताकि अध्यापन व्यवसाय के अनुकूल शिक्षकों में मूल्यों का विकास हो सके। प्रस्तुत शोध अध्ययन इस दिशा में अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण एवं उपयोगी सिद्ध हो सकता है। ❑❑

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शिक्षित महिलाएं और पीढ़ी अंतराल का प्रभाव

कृष्णा सिंह

रीडर, शिक्षा संकाय
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आज़मगढ़

समय के साथ-साथ हर क्षेत्र में परिवर्तन होना स्वाभाविक है। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में होने वाले इन परिवर्तनों का प्रभाव मानव के जीवन मूल्यों पर भी पड़ता है। प्रस्तुत लेख में शिक्षित महिलाओं पर पीढ़ी अंतराल का प्रभाव देखने के लिए लेखिका ने विभिन्न बिंदुओं पर विचार किया है। निष्कर्ष के रूप में शिक्षित महिलाओं पर पीढ़ी अंतराल का महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रभाव उनकी उच्च शिक्षा, आदर्श, वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि, नारी का ऊंचा उठने का भरसक प्रयास, बौद्धिक व राजनैतिक पक्ष इत्यादि तथ्यों में परिलक्षित होता है।

भारतीय परंपरा में स्त्री को सदैव सम्मानजनक स्थान दिया जाता रहा है। उसे मां या सहचरी कह कर पुकारा जाता था परंतु उन्हें सदा असहाय एवं दासवत निर्भरता का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाता रहा। आज परिस्थितियां बदल गई हैं। आज महिलाएं शिक्षा प्राप्त करके समाज के महत्वपूर्ण कार्यों में परुषों के साथ योगदान कर रही हैं। आज उनकी स्थिति में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन आ गया है। उसका श्रेय स्त्री शिक्षा एवं साक्षरता के प्रचार तथा प्रसार को है। आज नारी शक्ति, धन और ज्ञान का प्रतीक मानी गई है। वह हमारी राष्ट्रीयता की प्रतीक भी है। अपने देश को हम भारत माता कह कर नारी के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा प्रकट करते हैं।

विभिन्न सामाजिक पहलुओं के अंतर्गत वर्तमान शिक्षित एवं जागृत नारी, नारी जाति के उत्थान के लिए उतनी ही प्रयत्नशील है जितनी की वैदिक काल में गार्गी और मैत्रेयी थीं।

आज की शिक्षित नारी अपनी प्राचीन परंपरा एवं परिपाटी को केवल परंपरा के रूप में न मानकर उसे तर्क के आधार पर परिवर्तित करने के साथ-साथ अपने सामाजिक कार्यों और समाज के अंतर्गत नारी गत पारिवारिक भूमिकाओं में न बंध कर परिवर्तन को चुनौती के रूप में स्वीकार कर आगे बढ़ रही हैं। शिक्षित नारी के दृढ़संकल्प का ही परिणाम है कि आज वर्तमान नारी जाति अधिकाधिक शिक्षित और प्रभावी बन रही है। आज नारी पुरुषों की चेरी और चहारदीवारी की पक्षी न रहकर पुरुषों के समक्ष सभी क्षेत्रों में पूर्ण एवं समान अधिकार प्राप्त कर चुकी है।

शिक्षित महिला का अभिप्राय केवल साक्षरता से जुड़ा नहीं है बल्कि संपूर्ण व्यवहार एवं सामाजिक मानसिकता से जुड़ा है। प्राचीन, मध्यकालीन एवं आधुनिक नारी के विचार, रहन-सहन, व्यवहार, सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति, स्वतंत्रता आदि सभी बिंदुओं पर पीढ़ी अंतराल का प्रभाव है और अंतर स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर होता है। भारत के कुछ परिवारों में मध्ययुग की अवस्थाएं आज भी कायम हैं। कन्या जन्म पर शोक एवं पुत्रोत्पत्ति पर उल्लास मनाने की प्रथा एवं विवाह योग्य हो जाने पर कन्या की राय न लेना साधारण एवं आम बात है। सामान्यत: माता-पिता का ध्यान कन्या की शिक्षा पर उतना नहीं जाता है जितना पुत्र की शिक्षा पर। सामाजिक परिवेश में विधवा होने पर कुलक्षिणी और संतान न होने पर बांझ की उपाधि आदि भी इसी के उदाहरण हैं।

आज के परिवेश में शिक्षा के प्रचार-प्रसार या महिलाओं के शिक्षित होने से काफी अंतर आया है। उनके विचारों एवं मानसिकता में उत्तरोत्तर विकास हुआ है। शिक्षित महिलाओं पर पीढ़ी अंतराल का प्रभाव देखने के लिए हमें कुछ बिंदुओं पर विचार करना होगा :

- ❑ सामाजिक पक्ष
- ❑ बौद्धिक पक्ष
- ❑ व्यावहारिक पक्ष

- पारिवारिक पक्ष
- आर्थिक पक्ष
- धार्मिक पक्ष
- शैक्षिक पक्ष
- राजनैतिक पक्ष

सामाजिक पक्ष

आज सामाजिक चेतना की लहर समाज में स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर होती है। जो महिलाएं अपने घर के दरवाजे-खिड़कियों से झांक नहीं सकती थीं वे आज घर से बाहर जाकर नौकरी करती हैं, सिनेमा देखती हैं, समिति, संघों की सदस्य बनती हैं, पार्टियों, क्लबों में जाती हैं और इसी प्रकार विभिन्न सामाजिक कार्यक्रमों में भाग लेती हैं। रूढ़िवादी विचारों जैसे पर्दा प्रथा से दूर होकर विधवा विवाह, अंतर्जातीय विवाह आदि जैसे तार्किक आदर्शों और मूल्यों को अपनाती जा रही हैं। उनके रहन-सहन, पहनावे-ओढ़ावे में काफी अंतर आया है। वे सामाजिक क्षेत्र में काफी स्वतंत्र हुई हैं। आज समाज में महिला और पुरुष को समान एवं महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त है। वे परिवार के सीमित क्षेत्र से निकलकर वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् की भावना से प्रेरित होकर समाज की प्रगति में सहायक हो रही हैं। शिक्षित महिलाओं में समाज का स्तर ऊंचा उठ रहा है। आज महिलाएं घर के कार्य से लेकर राष्ट्र के प्रति अपने उत्तरदायित्व तक को निभा रही हैं।

बौद्धिक पक्ष

शिक्षित महिलाएं बौद्धिक रूप से इतनी जागरूक हुई हैं कि वे अपने परिवार के सदस्यों को उचित वातावरण एवं सुसंस्कृत विचार प्रदान कर रही हैं। परिवार के रहन-सहन को बेहतर बना रही हैं। आज परिवार में छोटे बच्चों को पढ़ाने में महिलाएं सक्षम हैं और उनके भविष्य निर्माण में सहायक भी हैं। पारिवारिक निर्णय में वह पुरुष के साथ-साथ चल रही हैं। शिक्षित महिलाओं के विचारों में शिक्षा की वजह से क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन घर से लेकर राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर परिलक्षित होता है।

व्यावहारिक पक्ष

आज समाज में महिलाओं की सोच का व्यावहारिक पक्ष में काफी परिवर्तन आया है। लड़कियों को जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु तक पुरुषों की दासी बन कर रहना पड़ता था। विवाह के पूर्व पिता, उसके पश्चात् पति तथा पति की मृत्यु के पश्चात् पुत्र के अधीन रहना पड़ता था। आज उसमें परिवर्तन आया है। लड़कियां स्वतंत्र हुई हैं। उनके विवाह की उम्र 8 से 10 वर्ष के स्थान पर 18 से 25 वर्ष हो गई है। वैवाहिक संबंध दासी के रूप में नहीं बल्कि सहचरी के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गया है। पति एवं बच्चे के साथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर चल रही हैं और उनके प्रत्येक निर्णयों में आदर्श भूमिका निभा रही हैं। आज परिवार में वे आदर्श नारी के रूप में अपना अस्तित्व बनायें हुए हैं। कुछ शिक्षित महिलाओं में कारण व्यवहारिक रूप से परिवार के प्रत्येक पक्षों में काफी मधुरता बढ़ी है। लोग व्यवहारों को भावनात्मक ढंग से न लेकर तार्किक ढंग से प्रयोग में ला रहे हैं जैसे बहू को बेटी, ननद को बहन, सास-श्वसुर को मां बाप मानना आदि।

पारिवारिक पक्ष

पारिवारिक पक्ष में शिक्षित महिलाओं की स्थिति अधिक मजबूत हुई है। बाल विवाह का अंत हो गया है, दहेज निरोधक परिस्थितियां सामने आ रही हैं। आज शिक्षित महिलाएं दहेज के खिलाफ हैं जबकि पहले महिलाएं ही दहेज प्रथा में आसक्त मानी जाती थीं। आज परिवार ने अंतर्जातीय विवाह को भी स्वीकार कर लिया है। आज उन्हें बांध कर परिवार में नहीं रखा जा सकता। उन्हें कानूनी रूप से विवाह विच्छेद का अधिकार प्राप्त है। आज परिवार चलाने के लिए उनके अंदर निर्णय लेने की क्षमता आ गई है जैसे विभिन्न स्थानों पर नशा निरोधक आवाजें उठ रही हैं और समाज के अवांछित तत्वों को उखाड़ फेंकने का बीड़ा उठा लिया है। आज परिवार में से सास-श्वसुर की सम्माननीय वधू और पति की मित्र गृहस्वामिनी एवं मंत्रणा देने का अधिकार प्राप्त कर चुकी है। आज महिलाओं के कंधे पर संपूर्ण परिवार का बोझ आ पड़ा है। वे बच्चों के लालन-पालन से लेकर शिक्षा-दीक्षा

का कर्तव्य निभा रही हैं, उसे संपूर्ण सम्पत्ति का अधिकार प्राप्त है, बच्चे सह अधिकारी के रूप में होंगे।

संयुक्त परिवार सामाजिक परंपराओं का एक अखाड़ा है जहां पर नाना प्रकार के अंध-विश्वास और धार्मिक विश्वासों से जकड़े बड़े-बूढ़ों का जमघट होता है जो किसी भी मूल्य पर पुराने तरीकों और विचारों को नहीं त्यागना चाहते। इन्हीं बड़े-बूढ़ों के कारण शिक्षित एवं जागृत महिलाएं संयुक्त परिवार के स्वरूप को नहीं स्वीकार रही हैं क्योंकि वे स्वतंत्र निर्णय लेकर परिवार को आज की दौड़ में शामिल करना चाह रही हैं। अर्थात् वे हर बात को तर्कपूर्ण ढंग से सोच रही हैं। आज की नारी सीमित परिवार रखने में विश्वास रखती है संतानोत्पत्ति को वे ईश्वर की देन न मानकर इस संबंध में वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण अपना रही हैं। इसलिए वे लड़के-लड़की में कोई अंतर नहीं मानती हैं। वे कम संतान की इच्छा करती हैं जिनका लालन पालन, शिक्षा-दीक्षा एवं शारीरिक रूप से स्वस्थ रखने में वे सक्षम हो सकें। वे अंधविश्वासों में भी अपना विश्वास नहीं रखती हैं जैसे प्राचीन काल में पुत्र को अधिक महत्व मिलता था क्योंकि उन्हीं से वंश विस्तार, पुण्य प्राप्ति, मोक्ष-प्राप्ति,तर्पण,पिण्डदान का अधिकार होता था और बालिका को हीन भावना से देखा जाता था। आज की परिस्थिति बदल गई हैं धार्मिक भावना को तार्किक और वैज्ञानिक ढंग से देखा जा रहा है। इसलिए कम संतान की उत्पत्ति उत्तरोतर समग्र विकास के लिए आवश्यक है।

आर्थिक पक्ष

शिक्षित महिलाओं की आर्थिक दृष्टि से स्थिति मजबूत हुई है। वह पहले पति पर आश्रित रहती थीं अब वे स्वयं जीविकोपार्जन में लगी हैं। आज महिलाएं प्राय: सभी व्यवसायों में देखी जा रही हैं। वे वकील हैं, प्रोफेसर हैं, एकाउंटेंट हैं भारतीय प्रशासनिक सेवा अधिकारी हैं, डाक्टर हैं, नर्स हैं, जज हैं, यहां तक कि सेना में भी कार्य कर रही हैं, वे दो पहिए वाले वाहन से लेकर ट्रक, वायुयान तक चला रही हैं। उन्हें पुरुषों के समान संपूर्ण क्षेत्र में अधिकार प्राप्त हैं। शिक्षित महिलाएं परिवार से लेकर देश तक की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने में सहायक हैं।

धार्मिक पक्ष

आज की शिक्षित महिलाएं धर्म के वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण को अपना रही हैं। प्राचीन युग में पर्वत, नदियों, तीर्थस्थान, पेड़-पौधों की पूजा धार्मिक ढंग से की जाती थी परन्तु आज की महिलाएं उसे राष्ट्रीय एकता, देश भक्ति और पर्यावरण से जोड़ती हैं। धर्म को वह चारित्रिक और नैतिकता के विकास का आधार मानती हैं जैसे लोक कल्याण की भावना का विकास, संकीर्ण मनोवृत्तियों का शोधन नि:स्वार्थ सेवा का भाव पैदा करना आदि। धार्मिक क्षेत्र में वे अपने व्यक्तित्व के उत्तम गुणों का विकास करती हैं, जैसे श्रद्धा, प्रेम, सहयोग, सहनशीलता, परोपकार, उदारता मानव मात्र से प्यार आदि। धर्म के संकुचित रूप को न स्वीकार कर व्यापक रूप को स्वीकार करती हैं यथा – ऊंच नीच, छूत-अछूत गरीब-अमीर, सभी को उदार दृष्टिकोण से देखती हैं। वे अन्याय, अत्याचार, सांप्रदायिकता से दूर हट कर वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् की भावना से सोचती हैं। इस प्रकार उदार धार्मिकता शिक्षित महिलाओं के विचारों में शोधन, परिवर्तन करती है और उसके आचार-विचार में शुद्धता लाती है।

शैक्षिक पक्ष

प्राचीन युग में शिक्षा का उद्देश्य एक मात्र जीविकोपार्जन से जुड़ा हुआ था। इसलिए वह पुरुषों का अधिकार क्षेत्र था क्योंकि परिवार के भरण-पोषण का भार उनके कंधे पर था। परंतु पीढ़ी अंतराल के कारण मान्यताएं बदल गई हैं। शिक्षा का अधिकार बालक-बालिकाओं दोनों को है क्योंकि वह पुरुषों के साथ जीविकोपार्जन से लेकर विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर अपने कर्तव्य का पालन कर रही हैं। आज महिलाएं वैज्ञानिक, सामाजिक, राजनैतिक, व्यावसायिक, सभी प्रकार की शिक्षा प्राप्त कर रही हैं। शिक्षित महिलाओं के जागरूक होने से समाज में बालिकाएं अपव्यय और अवरोधन की समस्या से बचती जा रही हैं। सरकार की तरफ से भी स्त्री शिक्षा पर पूर्ण रूपेण ध्यान दिया जा रहा है। बालिकाओं की शिक्षा बारहवीं कक्षा तक नि:शुल्क दी जा रही है उन्हें विभिन्न प्रकार से सरकारी सहायता प्रदान की जा रही है।

अतः शिक्षा के विस्तार के कारण महिलाओं में परंपरागत अंध विश्वास तथा संकीर्ण मनोभाव दूर होते गए और उनमें नई चेतना और आत्मविश्वास जागृत हो गया। वे अपने अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों के प्रति जागरूक हो गईं।

राजनैतिक पक्ष

आज शिक्षित नारी को पुरुषों के समान अधिकार प्राप्त हैं। राष्ट्र को उन्नत और सफल बनाने के लिए स्त्रियों पर उतना ही दायित्व है जितना पुरुषों पर। प्रजातंत्र की सफलता शिक्षित नारियों पर निर्भर है। राष्ट्रीय तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं का समाधान एवं देश को प्रगति पथ पर ले जाना उनका उत्तरदायित्व है।

आज प्रत्येक नारी को वोट देने तथा लोकसभा और विधान सभा आदि के सदस्य के लिए उम्मीदवार होने का पुरुषों के समान ही अधिकार प्राप्त है। आज शिक्षित नारियों में राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में स्त्रियों का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान सर्वविदित है। राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में पर्याप्त चेतना जागृत हुई है। आज भारत के राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में कार्य करने वाली स्त्रियां न केवल भारत में वरन् संपूर्ण विश्व में सम्मान प्राप्त कर रही हैं।

ग्रामीण अंचल के अनेक रूढ़िवादी परिवारों में भी जहां बहू को घर से बाहर नौकरी कराना शान के खिलाफ माना जाता था, आज बहू-बेटियां राजनीति के क्षेत्र में उतर रही हैं। यह सम्मान का विषय माना जाता है।

सरकार ने भी इस क्षेत्र में सराहनीय सहयोग किया है। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं को आरक्षित सीटें प्राप्त हैं जिससे महिलाओं की राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में जागरूकता बढ़ी है। अब तो हर्ष की बात यह है कि संविधान में संशोधन कर महिलाओं को राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में 30 प्रतिशत आरक्षण देने हेतु प्रस्ताव संसद में पेश किया जा रहा है।

निष्कर्ष

निष्कर्ष रूप में हम यह कह सकते हैं कि शिक्षित महिलाओं पर पीढ़ी अंतराल का महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है। प्राचीन नारी का आदर्श आध्यात्मिक था। वह पति को परमेश्वर मानती थी उसमें श्रद्धा रखती थी, परन्तु आज की शिक्षित नारी का आदर्श भौतिक है वह पति को अपना मित्र मानती है तथा उससे सुख-सुविधा की इच्छा रखती हैं। आज की महिलाएं पुरुष से हर क्षेत्र में प्रतियोगिता की भावना रखती हैं। शिक्षित नारी का आदर्श उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का उद्देश्य, ज्ञान विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में ऊंचा उठना, नौकरी प्राप्त करना और राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में सक्रिय भाग लेना है। प्राचीन नारी का विवाह धार्मिक संस्कार था आज की शिक्षित नारी का विवाह एक सामाजिक समझौता है जो किसी भी समय तोड़ा जा सकता है। प्राचीन समय में तलाक प्रथा नहीं थी। आज तलाक देना सामान्य प्रथा है। प्राचीन काल में महिलाएं धार्मिक अंधविश्वास एवं पुराने संस्कारों से बंधी थीं परन्तु आज की शिक्षित नारी धर्म को वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से एवं संस्कारों को तार्किक दृष्टि से देखकर उसका अनुपालन करती है। आज की शिक्षित नारी का बौद्धिक पक्ष इतना मजबूत हुआ है कि वह जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में सिर्फ भावनात्मक ढंग से नहीं सोचती बल्कि उसे तार्किक और व्यावहारिक ढंग से सोचती है। आज की शिक्षित नारी के कंधे पर पुरुष के समान ही समाज, राष्ट्र, परिवार का भार आ पड़ा है। शिक्षित महिलाओं पर पीढ़ी अंतराल का प्रभाव वर्तमान समय में इतना स्पष्ट है कि उसे शब्दों में नही बांधा जा सकता।

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कोचिंग कक्षाओं के प्रति दसवीं एवं बारहवीं कक्षा के विद्यार्थियों की अभिवृत्ति

विनोद जी. पटेल

वी. टी. चोक्सी सार्वजनिक अध्यापन विद्यालय
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आजकल स्कूली शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में ट्यूशन के प्रति विद्यार्थियों का आकर्षण एक सामान्य बात है। अधिकांश लोगों का इस संबंध में यह विचार है कि इसका मूल कारण स्कूली शिक्षा में कमियां, कक्षा में अध्यापकों की अनुपस्थिति, शिक्षकों द्वारा कक्षा में विद्यार्थियों के लिए विषय के ठीक से प्रतिपादन का अभाव इत्यादि है।

प्रस्तुत शोध अध्ययन में लेखक ने ट्यूशन के प्रति दसवीं एवं बारहवीं कक्षा के विद्यार्थियों की अभिवृत्ति का अध्ययन किया है। अध्ययन के उपरांत लेखक ने उपरोक्त विषय से संबंधित कुछ मूल प्रश्नों के उत्तर देने की समुचित चेष्टा की है।

तकनीकी विकास के साथ-साथ शिक्षा का भी विकास और व्यापार काफी तेज़ी से बढ़ा है, जिसके कारण उसकी गुणवत्ता में कुछ गिरावट भी देखने को मिल रही है। शिक्षाशास्त्री, मनोवैज्ञानिक एवं शिक्षक सभी वर्तमान शिक्षा व्यवस्था से असंतुष्ट हैं। शिक्षक कहते हैं विद्यार्थी पढ़ना नहीं चाहते। विद्यार्थी कहते हैं, शिक्षक ठीक से पढ़ाते नहीं हैं। आज की वास्तविकता यह है कि विद्यालय के कक्षा-कक्ष खाली है; जबकि ट्यूशन के वर्ग भरे हुए दिखाई पड़ते हैं। ऐसा आखिर क्यों हो रहा है? क्या ट्यूशन वर्ग में शिक्षक अच्छा पढ़ा रहे हैं? क्या ट्यूशन वर्ग में सभी विद्यार्थियों पर व्यक्तिगत ध्यान देकर उनकी रुचि के अनुसार पढ़ाया जाता है ? स्कूल वर्ग में विद्यार्थी अनियमित तथा ट्यूशन वर्ग में नियमित रूप से क्यों उपस्थित रहते हैं? आखिर स्कूली शिक्षा में क्या कमियां हैं? ट्यूशन वर्गों के प्रति इतना आकर्षण क्यों हैं ?

उपरोक्त प्रश्नों के उत्तर जानने के लिए और ट्यूशन वर्ग के प्रति विद्यार्थियों की अभिवृत्ति की जानकारी प्राप्त करने के लिए ही प्रस्तुत शोध अध्ययन किया गया था।

अध्ययन के उद्देश्य

- स्कूली शिक्षा के विषय में कक्षा 10 और कक्षा 12 के विद्यार्थियों की राय प्राप्त करना।
- ट्यूशन वर्ग में जाने वाले कक्षा 10 और कक्षा 12 के विद्यार्थियों से स्कूली कक्षा-कक्ष के अध्ययन वातावरण एवं ट्यूशन वर्ग के अध्ययन वातावरण के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त करना।
- शहर में स्थित ट्यूशन वर्गों के प्रति विद्यार्थियों के आकर्षण का कारण जानना।
- ट्यूशन वर्गों में जाने वाले विद्यार्थियों का स्कूली अध्ययन के प्रति निरुत्साह एवं अवहेलना के कारणों को जानना।
- ट्यूशन वर्गों के प्रति विद्यार्थियों की अभिवृत्ति का सर्वेक्षण करना एवं मार्गदर्शक सुझाव प्रदान करना।

न्यादर्श

यह अध्ययन गुजरात के सूरत शहर में स्थापित ट्यूशन वर्गों से संबंधित था। ट्यूशन वर्ग में जाने वाले दसवीं कक्षा के 150 और बारहवी कक्षा के 150 विद्यार्थियों को यादृच्छिक रीति से न्यादर्श में लिया गया।

विधि, उपकरण एवं पद्धति

विधि : अध्ययन में आवश्यक दत्त संकलन हेतु सर्वेक्षण विधि का प्रयोग किया गया।

शोध उपकरण : निम्नलिखित उपकरणों का उपयोग किया गया:

1. दत्त संकलन के लिए प्रसूची
2. साक्षात्कार

प्रसूची को निम्नलिखित विभागों में विभक्त किया गया:

विभाग 1 : शिक्षकों की विषयवस्तु कुशलता के बारे में विद्यार्थियों की राय (11 कथन)

विभाग 2 : शिक्षकों द्वारा विषयवस्तु के बारे में विद्यार्थियों की राय (17 कथन)

विभाग 3 : विषयवस्तु की प्रस्तुतीकरण के लिए प्रदत्त समय के बारे में राय (14 कथन)

विभाग 4 : स्कूल के और ट्यूशन वर्ग के शैक्षणिक वातावरण के बारे में राय (12 कथन)

विभाग 5 : स्कूल में अध्ययन के दौरान अवरोधक समस्याओं के बारे में राय (10 कथन)

प्रत्येक कथन को संपूर्ण सहमत, सहमत, तटस्थ, असहमत,और संपूर्ण असहमत जैसे पांच बिंदुओं में विभाजित करके क्रम मापदंड (5 Point Rating Scale) तैयार किया गया।

इस प्रसूची को 10 विशेषज्ञों को दिखाया गया। फिर 80 प्रतिशत विशेषज्ञों की सहमति के आधार पर प्रसूची को अंतिम स्वरूप प्रदान किया गया। अंतिम स्वरूप का कुल 300 विद्यार्थियों पर प्रयोग करके आवश्यक जानकारी प्राप्त की गई।

दत्त विश्लेषण और अर्थघटन

तालिका (1) से स्पष्ट है कि शिक्षकों की विषयवस्तु की तैयारी के बारे में 36.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थी सहमत एवं उसके ऊपर का अभिप्राय रखते हैं। केवल 10.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थी तटस्थ रहे हैं और 54.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थी निम्न कक्षा का अभिप्राय रखते हैं। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि विद्यार्थियों की दृष्टि से 36.5 प्रतिशत शिक्षक विषयवस्तु की अच्छी तैयारी के साथ पढ़ाने आते हैं। शेष 63.5 प्रतिशत शिक्षक बिना किसी उचित तैयारी के कक्षा-कक्ष में आते हैं।

जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग के शिक्षकों की विषयवस्तु तैयारी के बारे में 94.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थी सहमत हैं और अच्छी राय रखते हैं। ट्यूशन वर्गों में प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी की ओर पर्याप्त ध्यान दिया जाता है; इस कथन पर 93.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थी सहमत थे। इस कारण ट्यूशन वर्गों की ओर विद्यार्थियों की अभिवृत्ति धनात्मक रही। उनके मतानुसार ट्यूशन वर्गों में विद्यार्थियों की ओर संपूर्ण ध्यान दिया जाता है।

तालिका (2) से स्पष्ट होता है कि स्कूल में शिक्षक अपने विषय में विषयांतर करते हैं। इस कथन से 64.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थी संपूर्ण सहमत थे। 45 प्रतिशत स्कूल में शिक्षक दृश्य श्रव्य साधनों का उपयोग करते हैं जबकि 26 प्रतिशत स्कूल में उसका बिल्कुल उपयोग नहीं होता है। दूसरी तरफ ट्यूशन

तालिका 1

शिक्षकों की विषयवस्तु कुशलता के बारे में विद्यार्थियों की राय

संपूर्ण सहमत %	सहमत %	तटस्थ %	असहमत %	संपूर्ण असहमत %	मध्यमान %
36.5	94.5	10.5	54.5	3.1	3.78

तालिका 2

शिक्षकों की विषयवस्तु के प्रस्तुतीकरण के बारे में विद्यार्थियों की राय

संपूर्ण सहमत %	संपूर्ण असहमत %	मध्यमान %	कुल मध्यमान %
64.5	26.0	62.18	3.66

वर्गों में शिक्षक दृश्य श्रव्य साधनों का पर्याप्त उपयोग करके विषयवस्तु के प्रस्तुतीकरण को प्रभावकारी बनाते हैं। प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी को उनकी समस्याओं का हल और प्रश्नों का हल दिया जाता है।

तालिका (3) से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि 70 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थियों का मानना है कि स्कूल में निर्धारित समयावधि में पाठ्यक्रम पूर्ण किए जाने से शिक्षक तेज़ी से पाठ्यक्रम पूर्ण कर देते हैं; जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग में प्रत्येक विषय के अभ्यास के लिए पर्याप्त समय मिलता है। ज़रूरत पड़ने पर ही छुट्टियों में अभ्यास करवाते है।

तालिका (4) से स्पष्ट है कि 76.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थियों का यह मानना है कि स्कूल का वातावरण अध्ययन के लिए अनुकूल नहीं है। दूसरी ओर ट्यूशन वर्ग का वातावरण अध्ययन हेतु पोषक है। अभ्यास में कमजोर विद्यार्थियों पर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाता है। इकाई परीक्षा (वीक्ली टेस्ट) द्वारा विद्यार्थियों का निरंतर मूल्यांकन किया जाता है और उनकी कमज़ोरी दूर करने के लिए पर्याप्त अभ्यास कराया जाता है।

तालिका (5) से यह निर्देश मिलता है कि 73.5 प्रतिशत विद्यार्थियों का स्कूल में अध्ययन के बारे में उनकी समस्याओं का हल नहीं मिलता है, जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग में उनकी हर प्रकार की समस्याएं दूर होती हैं। प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी को प्रश्न पूछने की छूट; जो स्कूल में नहीं मिलती है, वह ट्यूशन वर्ग में मिलती है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि स्कूल मुक्त पीरियड वाले विद्यार्थी अन्य वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के लिए बाधा उत्पन्न करते हैं। जबकि यह समस्या ट्यूशन वर्ग में नहीं होती है।

तालिका 3

विषयवस्तु के प्रस्तुतीकरण के लिए प्रदत्त समय के बारे में राय

संपूर्ण सहमत %	संपूर्ण असहमत %	मध्यमान %	कुल मध्यमान %
70	30	55.64	3.97

तालिका 4

स्कूल के और ट्यूशन वर्ग के शैक्षणिक वातावरण के बारे में राय

संपूर्ण सहमत %	संपूर्ण असहमत %	मध्यमान %	कुल मध्यमान %
76.5	21.4	48.64	4.05

तालिका 5

स्कूल में अध्ययन के मार्ग में अवरोधक समस्याओं के बारे में राय

संपूर्ण सहमत %	संपूर्ण असहमत %	मध्यमान %	कुल मध्यमान %
73.5	26.5	36.31	3.63

निष्कर्ष

- विद्यार्थियों के मतानुसार स्कूल में पाठ्यक्रम योग्य ढंग से सिखाया नहीं जाता जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग में यह कार्य संतोषजनक ढंग से पूर्ण होता है। इसलिए ज़्यादा विद्यार्थी ट्यूशन वर्ग में जाना पसंद करते हैं।
- स्कूल में सिर्फ तेजस्वी विद्यार्थियों को ध्यान में रखकर सिखाया जाता है जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग में तेजस्वी, मध्यम और निम्न तीनों स्तर के विद्यार्थियों पर पर्याप्त ध्यान दिया जाता है।
- स्कूल के शिक्षकों की विषयवस्तु की तैयारी एवं निपुणता की तुलना में ट्यूशन वर्ग में शिक्षकों की *विषयवस्तु की तैयारी व प्रस्तुतीकरण अच्छा रहता है।*
- स्कूल में विषयवस्तु के प्रस्तुतीकरण को प्रभावकारी और रसप्रद बनाने के लिए प्रायोगिक साधनों का उपयोग नहीं किया जाता है। ट्यूशन वर्ग में दृश्य श्रव्य साधनों का उपयोग करके अध्ययन को रसप्रद बनाने का प्रयास देखने में आया है।
- स्कूल में विद्यार्थियों की संख्या एक-एक कक्षा में करीब 70-80 होती है इसलिए व्यक्तिगत मार्गदर्शन देना, समस्या रूप प्रश्नों के उत्तर देना असंभव रहता है। ट्यूशन वर्ग में विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 40 से ज़्यादा नहीं होती है इसलिए व्यक्तिगत मार्गदर्शन संभव है।
- स्कूल में निर्धारित समय में पाठ्यक्रम पूर्ण करने के कारण शिक्षक अधिक गति से पाठ्यक्रम समाप्त कर देते हैं जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग में छुट्टियों में भी अध्यापन कार्य जारी रहने के कारण पर्याप्त समय मिलता है और शिक्षक को अनावश्यक तेजी दिखाने की जरूरत नहीं होती है।
- स्कूल में परीक्षा केंद्रित प्रश्नों की तैयारी बहुत कम देखने को मिलती है, इससे संबंधित गृहकार्य भी पर्याप्त नहीं दिया जाता है जबकि ट्यूशन वर्ग में प्रत्येक विद्यार्थियों को आवश्यक स्वाध्याय एवं अध्ययन सामग्री दी जाती है।

सुझाव

स्कूल में प्रत्येक कक्षा में विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 50 से अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिए। कम संख्या होने से अध्यापक विद्यार्थी पर व्यक्तिगत रूप से पर्याप्त ध्यान दे सकते हैं। स्कूल में विद्यार्थियों को आकर्षित करने के लिए उचित वातावरण का निर्माण करना चाहिए। आवश्यकता पड़ने पर अधिक पीरियड लेने चाहिए।

स्कूल में अधिक प्रत्येक कक्षा में पीरियड लेने वाले शिक्षक को ज्यादा वेतन देना चाहिए। गणित, विज्ञान और अंग्रेजी जैसे विषयों में ज्यादा पीरियड लेकर विद्यार्थियों को स्वाध्याय, गृहकार्य देना चाहिए और नियमित रूप से उसका मूल्यांकन भी करते रहना चाहिए। परंपरागत प्रणाली से अध्यापन कराने के स्थान पर नई तकनीकी प्रविधियों का वर्गखण्ड में उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए।

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अन्वेषण विधि द्वारा जनसंख्या शिक्षण का एक प्रस्तावित मॉडल

आर. पी. पाठक

राज्य शैक्षिक अनुसंधान एवं प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
वरुण मार्ग, डिफेंस कालोनी
नई दिल्ली-24

जनसंख्या वृद्धि के विरुद्ध जनमानस तैयार करने में साक्षरता कार्यक्रमों की प्रमुख भूमिका रही है। इस संदर्भ में आधुनिकतम प्रमाण यह दर्शाते हैं कि शिक्षा के प्रचार-प्रसार के साथ-साथ जनसंख्या वृद्धि की लगाम खिंचती चली जाती है। इसके बावजूद जनसंख्या शिक्षा को स्कूली पाठ्यक्रम में किस रूप में सम्मिलित किया जाए इस पर अभी भी विवाद बना हुआ है। एक और विचारणीय प्रश्न जो उभर कर सामने आता है वह है जनसंख्या वृद्धि के विभिन्न आयामों को विद्यार्थियों तक किस शिक्षण विधि से पहुंचाया जाए। विद्यार्थियों के समक्ष विषयवस्तु को अध्यापक किस प्रकार प्रस्तुत करें। शिक्षण के दौरान विद्यार्थियों से कौन से क्रियाकलाप करवाए जाएं। प्रस्तुत लेख इन्हीं प्रश्नों का उत्तर ढूंढने की एक सफल चेष्टा है।

शिक्षा और जनसंख्या में घनिष्ठ संबंध है। प्रायः यह देखा गया है कि जिस देश में जितने अधिक शिक्षित लोग होंगे वहां पर जनसंख्या वृद्धि उतनी ही कम होगी। दूसरे शब्दों में शिक्षा जनसंख्या वृद्धि को नियंत्रित करने का एक महत्वपूर्ण उपकरण है। शिक्षा व्यक्ति को समाज में सुखी जीवन व्यतीत करने हेतु तैयार करती है। यह सामाजिक समस्याओं के लिए उचित निदान का भी कार्य करती है। अतः यह स्पष्ट है कि जनसंख्या शिक्षा एक विशिष्ट उपागम है जिससे जनसंख्या वृद्धि से उत्पन्न सामाजिक समस्याओं का निदान संभव हो सकता है।

बदलते हुए सामाजिक परिवेश और बढ़ती हुई आबादी की समस्या पर अंकुश रखने के लिए विद्यालयी पाठ्यक्रम में जनसंख्या शिक्षा एक नवीन आयाम है। हमारी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति-1986 और पुनर्संशोधित शिक्षा नीति 1992 में छोटे परिवार की संकल्पना को कौर पाठ्यक्रम का एक बिंदु माना गया है। साथ ही जनसंख्या शिक्षा को आवश्यक रूप से विद्यालयों में पढ़ाने की बात कही गई है। राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति ने सभी स्तरों पर जनसंख्या शिक्षा देने पर बल दिया है। इसीलिए इसे एक महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र स्वीकार किया है। प्रत्येक जाति, वर्ग, लिंग, और आयु के लोगों के लिए इसकी आवश्यकता है। इसी उपादेयता को ध्यान में रखकर यह जानना और भी आवश्यक हो जाता है कि विद्यालय में शिक्षक इस विषय को किस रूप में स्वीकार कर शिक्षण कार्य संपन्न करें क्योंकि इस विषय का क्षेत्र सभी विषयों के अंतर्गत मौजूद दिखाई देता है। इसीलिए इस विषय का शिक्षण कार्य शिक्षक के लिए थोड़ा कठिन प्रतीत होता है। हम शिक्षण की बात करते हैं तो यह दो रूपों में दृष्टिगत होता है।

शिक्षण कला एवं विज्ञान दोनों हैं। प्रत्येक शिक्षक में भी कुछ कौशलों का होना आवश्यक है इन्हीं कौशलों के माध्यम से वह अपने कार्य को प्रभावपूर्ण ढंग से निष्पादित करने में सक्षम होता है। जनसंख्या शिक्षा का शिक्षण, अध्यापक अपने शिक्षण कक्ष में उपयुक्त वातावरण पैदा कर, दैनिक कार्य की योजना बनाकर, संप्रेषण योग्यता, श्यामपट्ट के समुचित प्रयोग एवं दृश्य श्रव्य सामग्री के उपयोग द्वारा प्रभावशाली ढंग से संपन्न कर सकता है।

जनसंख्या शिक्षा का शिक्षण एक अलग विषय के रूप में किया जाए या इसके शिक्षण-अधिगम बिंदुओं को विभिन्न विषयों में समाहित कर दिया जाए, इस संबंध में शिक्षाविदों में मतभेद है। यह उल्लेखनीय है कि जनसंख्या शिक्षा का भाषा, गणित, जीव विज्ञान, अर्थशास्त्र, भूगोल, नागरिक शास्त्र आदि विषयों से सहसंबंध है। इसी तथ्य को ध्यान में रखकर

अनेक शिक्षाविदों ने यह सिफारिश की है कि जनसंख्या शिक्षा को एक अलग विषय के रूप में निर्धारित न कर आवश्यकतानुसार इससे संबद्ध बिंदुओं का अनेक विषयों में समावेश किया जाए।

जीवन स्तर में गुणात्मक सुधार लाने की दृष्टि से यह जरूरी है कि जनसंख्या वृद्धि तथा उसके प्रभावों के विषय में आवश्यक ज्ञान प्राप्त किया जाए। जनसंख्या शिक्षा भारत जैसे विकासशील देश के लिए उपयोगी ही नहीं वरन् परमावश्यक है। इस विषय से संबंधित जानकारी को अध्यापक यदि कक्षा में शिक्षण के दौरान बच्चों के सामने रखे तो यह उचित ही होगा।

किसी विषय के पूर्ण ज्ञान हेतु यह आवश्यक है कि उस विषय से संबंध संज्ञानात्मक, बोधात्मक तथा क्रियात्मक पक्षों का अध्ययन किया जाए। विद्यालयों में प्राय: यह देखा जाता है कि संज्ञानात्मक पक्ष को अधिक ध्यान में रखकर शिक्षण पर बल दिया जाता है।

बोधात्मक और क्रियात्मक पक्ष, प्राय: उपेक्षित रह जाते हैं जिससे विषय से संबंधित तथ्यों का स्पष्ट ज्ञान छात्रों को नहीं हो पाता। इसलिए शिक्षण अधिगम प्रक्रिया में पाठ्यक्रम -निर्माण के समय कुछ बिंदुओं पर ध्यान रखना आवश्यक है:

- ❑ प्रकरण
- ❑ विषयवस्तु
- ❑ उद्देश्य
- ❑ शिक्षण विधि एवं क्रियाकलाप
- ❑ मूल्यांकन

इन बिंदुओं को डायग्राम से समझा जा सकता है:

शिक्षण में प्राय: अन्वेषण, प्रश्नोत्तर, व्याख्यान, वार्तालाप आदि विधियों का प्रयोग किया जाता है। जनसंख्या शिक्षा के अंतर्गत भी विभिन्न प्रकरणों के शिक्षण के लिए अन्वेषण विधि सर्वथा उपयुक्त मानी गई है।

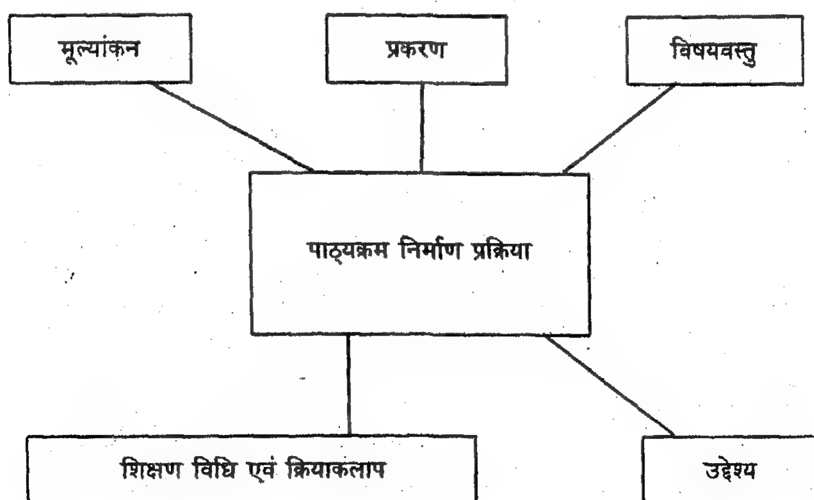
अन्वेषण विधि द्वारा विषयवस्तु की एक इकाई योजना

इस विधि द्वारा जनसंख्या शिक्षा के किसी एक प्रकरण को लेकर हम शिक्षण इस प्रकार से कर सकते हैं:

उदाहरणार्थ: स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर जनसंख्या वृद्धि का क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है ? इसे ज्ञात करने के लिए एक रूपरेखा निर्मित की जा सकती है, यथा:

सामान्य उद्देश्य - जनसंख्या वृद्धि से स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर पड़ने वाले प्रभावों का ज्ञान कराना।

विशिष्ट उद्देश्य - संज्ञानात्मक पक्ष : इस इकाई की सामग्री का अध्ययन करने के पश्चात् छात्र। जनसंख्या वृद्धि



तथा स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण के आपसी संबंधों को पहचान सकेंगे। नवीन परिस्थितियों में जनसंख्या वृद्धि स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण की जानकारी प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। जनसंख्या वृद्धि एवं स्वास्थ्य तथा पोषण के संबंध में आंकड़े एकत्रित कर उनका मूल्यांकन कर सकेंगे। आंकड़ों के संश्लेषण द्वारा जनसंख्या संबंधी ज्ञान तथा स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर जनसंख्या वृद्धि द्वारा पड़ने वाले प्रभावों को जान सकेंगे।

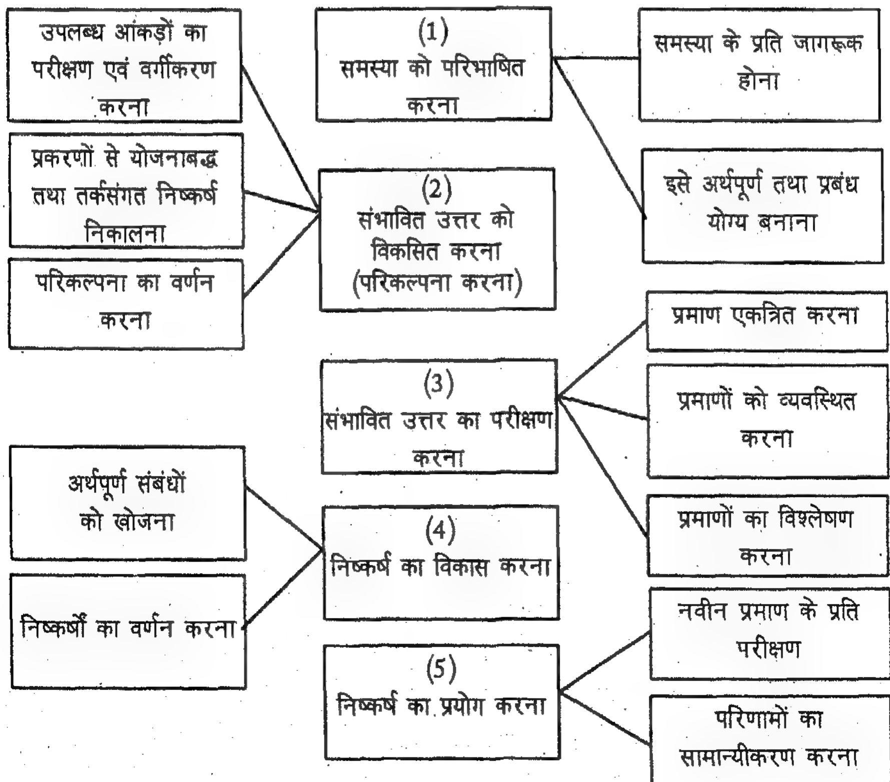
बोधात्मक पक्ष

इस इकाई पर विवेचन करने के पश्चात छात्र जनसंख्या वृद्धि के कारण आने वाली सामाजिक समस्याओं को भली-भांति समझ सकेंगे। परिवार के आकार तथा जनसंख्या पर पड़ने वाले उसके प्रभावों पर विचार कर सकेंगे। परिवार का आकार बढ़ने से स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर पड़ने वाले दुष्प्रभावों को समझ सकेंगे। जनसंख्या नियंत्रण के विषय में विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति कर सकेंगे।

क्रियात्मक पक्ष

उपरोक्त इकाई के अध्ययन के पश्चात् छात्र अपने पड़ोस के घरों तथा परिवारों की गणना करने में सक्षम होंगे। शिक्षित परिवारों की सदस्य संख्या तथा उनके स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण की स्थिति से संबंधित चार्ट निर्मित कर सकेंगे।

बी. के. बायर द्वारा अन्वेषण विधि का एक प्रस्तावित मॉडल



समस्या को परिभाषित करना

प्रकरण :

सामान्यीकरण : समुदाय के स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर जनसंख्या वृद्धि का प्रभाव।

उप-प्रकरण:

- ❑ जनसंख्या वृद्धि
- ❑ जन्म दर/मृत्यु दर : जन्म दर तथा मृत्यु दर का प्रभाव समुदाय की जनसंख्या वृद्धि पर पड़ता है।
- ❑ आयु संरचना : जनसंख्या वृद्धि आयु संरचना पर प्रभाव डालती है। आयु संरचना जनसंख्या निर्भरता पर प्रभाव डालती हैं । जनसंख्या वृद्धि से समुदाय में प्रति व्यक्ति आय कम होती है। प्रति व्यक्ति आय कम होने से समुदाय में सहन-सहन के स्तर में गिरावट आती है। रहन-सहन के स्तर में गिरावट आने से उसके स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पड़ता है।

क्रियाकलाप :

जनसंख्या वृद्धि की समस्या को चार्ट, चित्र, आंकड़ों आदि की सहायता से परिभाषित किया जाए। जहां कहीं छात्र प्रश्न पूछें उनको संतोषजनक ढंग से उत्तर देकर आवश्यक ज्ञान कराया जाए। कहानी, कविता, नाटक, प्रहसन, एवं खेलों के माध्यम से जनसंख्या वृद्धि पोषण तथा स्वास्थ्य के पारस्परिक संबंधों की जानकारी छात्रों को कराई जाए।

संभावित उत्तरों का परीक्षण

छात्रों को उपलब्ध आंकड़ों के परीक्षण एवं वर्गीकरण के संबंध में जानकारी कराई जाए जिससे वे जनसंख्या वृद्धि के स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर पड़ने वाले प्रभावों का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर सकें और उनके समाधान खोज सकें।

निष्कर्ष

यदि छात्रों को परिकल्पना का परीक्षण अध्ययन-सामग्री, चार्ट, चित्र, उपलब्ध आंकड़ों आदि की सहायता से कराया जाए तो वे इन निष्कर्षों पर पहुँचेंगे :

- ❑ जन्म दर तथा मृत्यु दर जनसंख्या वृद्धि पर प्रभाव डालते हैं।
- ❑ जनसंख्या वृद्धि आयु संरचना पर प्रभाव डालती है।
- ❑ आयु संरचना जनसंख्या पर निर्भरता के बोझ से प्रभावित होती है।
- ❑ निर्भरता बोझ एक परिवार और समुदाय की आर्थिक प्रगति पर प्रतिकूल प्रभाव डालता है और इससे व्यक्ति की आय पर प्रभाव पड़ता है।
- ❑ प्रति व्यक्ति के आय में अन्तर आने से समुदाय के स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषण पर प्रभाव पड़ता है।

मूल्यांकन

शिक्षण-अधिगम प्रक्रिया में मूल्यांकन का अपना विशिष्ट स्थान है। शिक्षक ने जो कुछ पढ़ाया या बच्चे अपने पर्यावरण से जो भी बातें सीखते हैं उनका मूल्यांकन किया जाना आवश्यक होता है। मूल्यांकन छात्रों की संप्राप्तियों के मूल्य निर्धारण का एक प्रक्रम है जिससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति किस स्तर तक हो सकी है। कक्षा-कक्ष में अधिगम-अनुभवों की प्रभावकारिता किस सीमा तक रही है और शिक्षा के लक्ष्यों की किस सीमा तक पूर्ति हुई है।

अधिगम प्रक्रिया के प्रत्येक स्तर पर हम मूल्यांकन के द्वारा ज्ञात करते हैं कि विद्यार्थियों के व्यवहार में परिवर्तन किस सीमा तक हुआ है व्यवहार में अपेक्षित परिवर्तन की माप इन युक्तियों के आधार पर की जा सकती है।

लिखित परीक्षा	निरीक्षण	जांच तालिका
मौखिक परीक्षा	साक्षात्कार	विद्यार्थियों द्वारा निर्मित सामग्री
प्रयोगात्मक परीक्षा	प्रश्नावली	अभिलेख

उपरोक्त में से किन्हीं उपयुक्त मूल्यांकन युक्तियों का आवश्यकतानुसार जनसंख्या शिक्षा के शिक्षण में प्रयोग किया जा सकता है। लेकिन महत्वपूर्ण बात यह होनी चाहिए कि मूल्यांकन ज्ञानात्मक, बोधात्मक, अनुप्रयोगात्मक तथा कौशलात्मक पक्षों के आधार पर ही किया जाना चाहिए। प्रश्न पत्र निर्माण करते समय यह ध्यान रखना होगा कि संपूर्ण पाठ्यक्रम पर प्रश्न पूछे जाएं। यह तभी संभव होगा जब वस्तुनिष्ठ लघु उत्तरीय प्रश्नों की संख्या अधिक होगी।

इस प्रकार यदि उपरोक्त शिक्षण विधियों, युक्तियों एवं शिक्षण बिंदुओं को आधार मानकर विद्यार्थियों को जनसंख्या शिक्षा का ज्ञान भलीभांति कक्षा शिक्षण के दौरान कराया जा सकता है तो छात्रों में प्रश्न कौशल, अन्वेषण एवं खोज की प्रवृत्ति का इस तरह से विकास हो जाएगा कि वह स्वयं अपनी अधिगम संबंधी समस्याओं और जिज्ञासा की प्रवृत्ति को दूर कर सकेगा। इस विधि द्वारा यह विषय विद्यार्थियों के लिए सरल और सुरुचिपूर्ण हो जाएगा। वह स्वयं इस दिशा में सोचने एवं जनसंख्या शिक्षा से संबंधित क्रियाकलाप करने की ओर उन्मुख हो सकेगा।

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संदर्भ

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फार्म 4

(नियम 8 देखिए)

भारतीय आधुनिक शिक्षा

1.	प्रकाशन स्थान	नई दिल्ली
2.	प्रकाशन अवधि	त्रैमासिक
3.	मुद्रक का नाम	शरीफ़ अहमद
	(क्या भारत का नागरिक है?)	हां
	(यदि विदेशी है तो मूल देश का पता)	लागू नहीं होता
	पता	मैनेजर ताज प्रिंटर्स 69, नजफगढ़ रोड इण्डस्ट्रियल एरिया, नई दिल्ली-110055
4.	प्रकाशक का नाम	रघुनंदन सहाय सक्सेना
	(क्या भारत का नागरिक है?)	हां
	(यदि विदेशी है तो मूल देश का पता)	लागू नहीं होता
	पता	राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् श्री अरविंद मार्ग नई दिल्ली-110016
5.	अकादमिक संपादक का नाम	एस. के. बत्रा
	(क्या भारत का नागरिक है?)	हां
	(यदि विदेशी है तो मूल देश का पता)	लागू नहीं होता
	पता	राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् श्री अरविंद मार्ग नई दिल्ली-110016
6.	उन व्यक्तियों के नाम व पते जो समाचार-पत्र के स्वामी हों तथा समस्त पूंजी के एक प्रतिशत से अधिक के साझेदार या हिस्सेदार हों	राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् श्री अरविंद मार्ग नई दिल्ली-110016 (मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय की स्वायत्त संस्था)

मैं, रघुनंदन सहाय सक्सेना, अध्यक्ष, प्रकाशन प्रभाग एतद् द्वारा घोषित करता हूं कि मेरी अधिकतम जानकारी एवं विश्वास के अनुसार ऊपर लिखे विवरण सत्य हैं।

रघुनंदन सहाय सक्सेना

प्रकाशक

लेखकों से निवेदन

लेखकों से निवेदन है कि रचनाएं डबल स्पेस में टाईप की हुई हों तथा रचनाओं की दो हस्ताक्षरित प्रतियां भेजें। साथ ही यह अवश्य सूचित करें कि प्रेषित रचना अप्रकाशित/अप्रसारित है।

पुस्तक-समीक्षा के लिए पुस्तक की दो प्रतियां भेजना आवश्यक है। पत्रिका में प्रकाशित पांडुलिपि का कापीराइट परिषद् के अधीन रहेगा और परिषद् की पूर्व अनुमति के बिना कोई भी अंश पुनः प्रकाशित नहीं किया जा सकेगा।

रचनाएं कृपया इस पते पर भेजें—अकादमिक संपादक, **भारतीय आधुनिक शिक्षा**, शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और नीतिगत संदर्श विभाग, राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्, श्री अरविन्द मार्ग, नई दिल्ली — 110016

Thus the British conquest of India brought about an agrarian revolution It created the prerequisite for the capitalist development of agriculture by introducing individual ownership of land, namely, peasant ownership and large-scale landlord ownership. This, together with the commercial and other new economic forces which invaded and penetrated the village, undermined both the agrarian economy and the autarchic village of India of the pre-British period. This transformation of the land relations was the most vital link in the chain of causes which transformed the whole pre-capitalist feudal economy of India into the existing capitalist economy The profound social, political, cultural and psychological results of this material transformation of Indian society will be described subsequently.

New Land Revenue System

Till the village ownership of land existed, the village was the unit of assessment It was the village community which, through the headman or panchayat, paid the state or the intermediary a specific proportion of the annual agricultural produce as revenue This proportion may have varied under different regimes, but it was, except in rare cases, the village which was the unit of assessment and the payer of revenue

The new land system eliminated the village as the unit of land assessment and revenue payment. By creating individual holders of land, it introduced the system of individual land assessment and revenue payment

Secondly, a new method of fixing the land revenue and its payment was introduced previously the revenue due to the state or its intermediary to whom the monarch had 'farmed' out the village, was a specified portion of the year's actual produce which varied from year to year "This was now replaced by the system of fixed money payments, assessed on land, regularly due in cash irrespective of the year's production, in good or bad harvests, and whether more or less of the land was cultivated or not, and in the overwhelming majority of settlements fixed on individual landholders, whether directly cultivators or landlords appointed by the state"[18] This new method and form of the land revenue assessment and payment had a far-reaching result.

When previously a part of the actual annual produce constituted the revenue due to the state, the village possession of land was never in danger. If during any year the harvest failed, the land revenue automatically lapsed that year since it was dependent upon and was measured in terms of a portion of the actually realized harvest The non-payment of the revenue by the village however did not jeopardize its possession of land.

But when, under the new system, fixed money payments assessed on land and not on the annual produce were introduced, the landlord or the peasant proprietor had to meet this revenue claim of the state irrespective of the failure of crop.

The practice of the new land and revenue system logically and inevitably brought in its wake the phenomena of the mortgage, the sale and the purchase of land When a landholder could not pay the land revenue due to the state out of the returns of his harvest or his resources, he was constrained to mortgage or sell his land. Thus, insecurity of possession and ownership of land—a phenomenon unknown to the pre-British agrarian society—came into existence. The new land system disastrously affected the communal character of the village, its self-sufficient economy and communal social life

Previously, the village owned the land, looked after and supervised agriculture carried on by different peasant families among whom it had distributed the land according to customary law. Along with this agricultural-economic function, it also performed, through the village panchayat, the judicial function of settling the disputes arising among the peasants in connection with agriculture.

Under the new land system, the village was no longer the owner of land hence no longer also the superintendent of agriculture. The individual landholder was directly connected with the centralized state to which he owed his proprietary right over land and had directly to pay the land revenue. Further, all land disputes were now settled, not by village panchayats, but by the courts established by the centralized state. This undermined the prestige of the panchayats, now shorn of power.

Thus the new land system not only deprived the village of its agricultural-economic functions but also led to the loss of its judicial functions. It also broke the bonds which organical-

ly tied the village peasant to the village collectivity

The organs of the centralized state took over almost all essential functions relating to the village life which were previously performed by the self-governing village organization

Since the fulfilment of village needs was the objective of the village production and produce, both industrial and agricultural, in pre-British India, this objective determined the character of this produce and production It was on this basis that the unity of the village agriculture and industry was possible and built and their balance maintained.

Commercialization of Agriculture

One of the consequences of the introduction of the system of new land relations and revenue payment in the form of fixed money payment was that the old objective of village agriculture, namely production for village use, was replaced by that for market. The production and produce were now determined by the new objective, that of sale, and, hence, changed their character [9]

Under the new system, the peasant produced mainly for the market, which, with the steady improvement of means of transport and expanding operations of trading capital under the British rule, became available to him He did so with a view to realizing maximum cash, primarily to pay the land revenue to the state which was fixed fairly high and, in course of time, to meet the claim of the moneylender in whose hands he progressively fell due to numerous causes.

This led to the emergence of the phenomenon of what is known as the commercialization of agriculture This also led to the practice of growing specialized crops by the peasants The land in groups of villages was solely used, because of its special suitability, for the cultivation of a single agricultural crop such as cotton, jute, wheat, sugarcane and oil-seeds[10]

'It was this same ease of communication that was bringing about another important change in Indian agriculture This change might be called, for want of a better term, the commercialization of agriculture. Broadly speaking, the change might be described as a change from cultivation for home consumption to cultivation for the market .. The spread of transport facilities, when it began to break down the compact character of the village, affected also its agricultural economy The change

was seen in a gradual extension of the area of some industrial crops under cultivation and a specialization in crops grown in different districts Export trade increased and internal trade also to a very great extent . The first impetus towards this tendency of commercialization was noticed when money economy was introduced into the village in the shape of cash assessments, but the effect of this could not go far until communications were improved. Then slowly rents in kind went out of fashion and cash rentals were introduced The effect of this, combined with the assessments, was to compel the cultivator to sell a part of his produce immediately after harvest, and as, generally, the interest of the moneylender became due also at about the same time, the part of the produce that he disposed of at this time was a large part of his total crop[11]

With the rise of modern industries in England, the necessity of raw materials for these industries grew. The British government in India pursued economic policies which expanded the area of growth of such raw materials as needed by the British industries It thereby accelerated the *commercialization and specialization of Indian agriculture*

'The commercialization of agriculture had progressed most in those tracts where the crops were largely grown for export out of the country This was so in the Burma rice area, the Punjab wheat area, the jute area of Eastern Bengal and the Khandesh, Gujerat and Berar cotton tracts Through the operations of exporters, an efficient market organization for moving the crops quickly to the ports had come into existence '[12]

'A very large portion of the total crop now came into the market instead of being retained at home Naturally, the movement was not marked in crops in which there was either a large internal or external trade, but even when, as in the case of the millet crops, the internal trade was not important, a large proportion still came into the market as a result of certain circumstances

'These circumstances were the payment of government assessments and the interest of the moneylender To pay these two dues the cultivators had to rush into the markets just after harvest, and to sell a large part of their produce at whatever price it fetched Most of the poor cultivators had to buy back after about six months part of the crop they had sold away at harvest time The prices at harvest time were very low but in six months' time they had risen to height which were absolutely ruinous to the cultivator. .'[13]

From the standpoint of the growth of a single national Indian or world economy, this was a step forward in spite of the annihilation of self-sufficient village communities and economic misery consequent on this destruction through the capi-

talist transformation of the Indian economy. It contributed towards building the material foundation, namely, the economic welding together of India and of India with the world, for the national consolidation of the Indian people and the international economic unification of the world.

The commercialization of agriculture was a step forward also from the point of view of production 'These changes were, firstly, a commercialization of agriculture—by itself quite a beneficial movement. For it brought about a slightly better distribution of the crops and increased the profits of cultivation.'[14]

Diversion of the village agricultural production, from serving the personal needs of the peasant and village requirements to catering for the Indian and world market, not only led to commercialization and specialization of crops but also disrupted the ancient unity of agriculture and industry in the traditional Indian village

In addition to the two reasons which prompted the farmer to produce for market, namely, to realize maximum cash for the payment of the land revenue and meet the debt claim of the moneylender in whose hands he subsequently and generally fell, there was a third reason also why he produced for sale The progressive improvement of the means of transport by the government made it possible for him to purchase the manufactured cloth and other necessary articles from the market organized at a village or district fair Formerly, as a rule, he produced his own cloth and the village artisans met his other needs in return for a part of the annual produce Now, he bought most of these things from the market This was also one of the principal causes of the decline of village artisan and other village industries

The commercialization of village agriculture together with the decay of village industries due to the influx of the manufactured and, later, cheap machine-made goods of Britain and subsequently of other countries and even of Indian industries, seriously affected the balanced village economy.

Breakdown of Traditional Indian Village

Thus, the unity of village agriculture and industry, the basic pillar of the self-sufficient village economy, was disrupted

The economic base of the autarchic village existence was undermined

'Owing to the peculiar form of rent in kind by which it is bound to a definite kind of product and production, owing furthermore to the indispensable combination of agriculture and domestic industry attached to it, also to the almost complete self-sufficiency in which the present family supports itself and to its independence from markets and from the movements of production and history in the social spheres outside it, . . this form is quite suitable for becoming the basis of stationary conditions of society, such as we see in Asia '[15]

Further, 'domestic handicraft and manufacturing labour, as side issues to agriculture which forms the basis, is the prerequisite of that mode of production upon which natural economy rests, in European antiquity and the Middle Ages as well as in the Indian commune of the present day, in which the traditional organization has not yet been destroyed The capitalist mode of production completely dissolves this connection '[16]

The communal and self-governing character of the village was undermined by other measures and encroachments also. In addition to the village being deprived of its traditional possession of the village land, it also lost the right to the free use of pasture and forest land in its proximity The peasants and other village folk used this land for collecting fuel and grazing cattle, under the control of the village as a whole. Further, this land had a decisive value for the maintenance of the general village economy and agriculture The new state expropriated the village of its possession and free use of this peripheral land Regarding Forest Laws which brought this about Pattabi Sitaramayya had remarked. 'With a single stroke of the pen Government had extinguished the immemorial communal rights of the Ryot, and village society had thus been revolutionized '[17]

It was because of these functions, such as village agriculture under the control of the village, its neighbouring forest zone under its own possession and administration that a vital collective life existed and thrived in the village. The village was a self-governing and self-determining organization Village life was one organic whole It was because of their daily collaboration in matters of common interest which they them-

selves decided, that a live collective village consciousness was maintained among the villagers With the removal of land, both agricultural and forest, from the possession and collective control of the village, and its transformation into private and state property, the old bonds of economic co-operation and common interests between the villagers dissolved. The economic functions, formerly carried out by the village community, were now taken over by the centralized state. The self-governing village based on the co-operation and collective life of its members broke down. Private property and market further drove a wedge into and dissolved the nexus of the co-operative relations among the villagers based upon the old economy [18]

The centralized state also took over other functions of the village community such as defence. The village slowly but steadily became transformed from a self-governing community into an administrative unit of the centralized state and a dependent economic part of the national economy, nay even of the world economy. The economic and administrative autarchy of the traditional village disappeared Collective village life based on common economic interests and the resultant co-operative relations gave way to a new village existence based on competition and struggle Competitive economic relations resulting out of private property and market replaced former co-operative socio-economic relations.

The creation and penetration of capitalist economic relations into the village together with the political-administrative unification of India by assembling all hitherto independent centres into a single unified state system struck a mortal blow to the seemingly impregnable traditional village.

With new social relations in production, distribution and exchange, appeared new institutions. Formerly custom had mostly governed the relationship between the members of the village community. The village committees (panchayats) had regulated the relations between and adjusted disputes among villagers. Now legal codes and law courts established by the new regime governed the complex social relations arising out of the new land system based on private property in land 'Over the face of the agrarian world took place a change such as England had witnessed in the sixteenth century: the disruption of the medieval framework, the influx of foreign

agents and of pecuniary considerations and of contractual relations, and the substitution of individual responsibility, "enterprise" and freedom for co-ordinated effort along paths prescribed by custom."[19]

Thus twilight fell over the ancient traditional Indian village, the seemingly invulnerable 'Rock of Ages'. It could successfully resist all former political upheavals, wars and invasions. But it succumbed before the action of the political and economic measures of a new type of political regime historically never experienced before and of the commercial and industrial forces of modern capitalism

Historically speaking, the destruction of the self-sufficient village was a progressive event though it involved much tragic destruction such as that of collective life among the village population, of tender human relations between them and of economic security among its members unless a war or a famine intervened.

But on the other hand the village life existed on a narrow village scale, was poor in cultural quality, unprogressive and passive If the Indian people were to advance to higher forms of social existence such as nationhood, economic unity and intellectual progress, the self-sufficient village had to leave the stage of history.

History moves dialectically Progress is achieved not through the quantitative extension of the good aspects of the old but its qualitative transformation Higher forms of co-operation and social existence emerge not through the quantitative expansion of old forms but by their dissolution. It is true that the capitalist transformation of the village economy was brought about by the destruction of village co-operation but its historical progressive role lies in the fact that it broke the self-sufficiency of the village economic life and made the village economy a part of the unified national economy It was a historically necessary step towards integrating the Indian people economically It simultaneously broke the physical, social and cultural isolation of the village people by creating the possibility of large-scale social exchange through the establishment of such means of mass transport as railways and automobiles

How could a united nation evolve out of a people who are living an isolated existence in numerous centres, who are

physically divided and between whom there is very little social and economic exchange? How can the consciousness of a people be elevated to a national plane when they live independent isolated lives in small groups? Conditions of material existence determine the nature of consciousness and the conditions of narrow material existence in the self-sufficient village could give birth, in the mass, only to the village consciousness. With rare exceptions, the population in the bulk could not transcend the village outlook and village consciousness under the conditions of life in the hermetically sealed village

It is true that the introduction of capitalist relations destroyed village co-operation But this co-operation was co-operation in maintaining the narrow self-sufficient village existence That is why the population of the autarchic village could, for centuries, remain unperturbed by catastrophic social events such as the rise and fall of empires and dynasties, or the devastation and destruction of entire districts and provinces outside their narrow village boundaries. The village solidarity bound up with the self-sufficient nature of the village thrived only in the absence of any higher form of solidarity such as the national or the international. The village co-operation was founded upon the village self-sufficiency and it fell with the latter's destruction Since it was bound up with the latter, it could not be saved.

But the capitalist unification of India based on the destruction of the village autarchy and co-operation on the narrow village scale paved the way for higher forms of economy and social collaboration. It paved the way for a national economy and nation-scale collaboration among the Indian people It became the material premise for the emergence of the Indian nation out of the amorphous mass of the Indian people which, before this unification, were scattered in numerous villages between which there was very little exchange, social or economic, and, hence, which had hardly any positive common interests

However tragic, the destruction of the autarchic village and the collective life of the people living in it, it was historically necessary for the economic, social and political unification of the Indian people Social progress is achieved, as history shows, through the amoral action of historical forces. It should not be forgotten that these villages were the strong-

holds of social passivity and intellectual inertia, reproducing the same type of existence for ages They were powerful obstacles to all attempts at unification of India in the past We need not shed any reactionary tears over their extinction

References

1 Refer O'Malley and Baden Powell
2 Radhakamal Mukerji, p 16.
3 ibid, p 36
4 Refer Thompson and Garratt, O'Malley and Baden Powell
5 Quoted by Keith, Vol, I p 215
6 Refer Ranga, Baden Powell and Datta
7 R P Dutt, p 213
8 ibid, p 207
9 Refer Gadgil, pp 153-5
10 Refer Gadgil, and Buchanan
11 Gadgil, pp 153-4
12 ibid, p 154
13 ibid, p 155
14 ibid, p 162
15 Karl Marx, p 82
16 ibid, pp 82-3
17 Sitaramayya, p 62
18 Refer R C Dutt and Shelvankar
19 Shelvankar, p 106

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

Emergence of National Agriculture

WITH the establishment of new land relations based on private property in land and the right of the individual landowner freely to dispose of his property in land, the agrarian economy of India entered a new and hitherto historically unknown stage of development and the agrarian population a new phase of social and economic existence We will now study the problems which arose out of the new situation

One vital fact, however, which emerged from the new situation was that with the introduction of new land relations in agriculture, it no longer had an isolated village character and significance A national agriculture, as an integral dependent part of the total national Indian economy came into existence The problems of Indian agriculture, consequently, acquired a national character. The technical-economic problems of agriculture such as the formation of compact economic holdings, technical reorganization of agriculture by the introduction of modern agricultural machinery, scientific manure and other scientific methods of cultivation, became national problems

Under the British rule, Indian agriculture rose to the level of a national agriculture but it did not grow into a prosperous agriculture The material conditions of the agrarian population as a whole also did not rise

Nor did agriculture as a whole reach any high level of organization and productivity In fact, the history of Indian agriculture, in spite of its becoming national in character, under the British rule was a history of its 'continuous and in-

creasing disorganization'. It was also the history of the progressive impoverishment of the agricultural population, of the steady growth of their indebtedness, of the increasing expropriation of the peasants of their land and their transformation into paupers or the agricultural proletariat

Growth of Subdivision and Fragmentation of Land

One of the most alarming and ruinous features of Indian agriculture was the extreme subdivision of land and its fragmentation The amount of land available to each cultivator declined or, in other words, the holdings progressively became more and more uneconomic.

There were a number of factors which brought about this state of things. The introduction of capitalist relations in agriculture in the European countries was paralleled by the creation of compact farms as units of cultivation In India, on the other hand, no such reorganization of land was accomplished by the British From the standpoint of ownership and individual cultivation, the land remained intermixed The disadvantages of land fragmentation and the open field system continued.[1]

With the establishment of private property in land and the individual's right to its free disposal, there appeared centrifugal tendencies within the joint family, the members of which previously jointly held and cultivated the land assigned to it by the village. This led to the division of the family land among various claimants, resulting in increasing subdivision of land.[2]

Another factor which contributed to the process of subdivision of land was the growing practice among the landholders and even tenants to rent or sub-rent the land The holding, already small, was, thus, dissected into still smaller holdings.

However, the most decisive factor which accelerated the process of subdivision of land and its fragmentation was overpressure on agriculture brought about by the economic ruination of millions of urban and village handicraftsmen and artisans

The growing process of persons dependent on agriculture is seen in the following Census Record

Percentage of population dependent on agriculture[3]	
1891	61 1
1901	65 5
1911	72 2
1921	73 0
1931	75.0

We can compare this growth of dependence on agriculture with the decline of dependence on industry.

Percentage of population dependent on industry[4]	
1911	5 5
1921	4 9
1931	4 3
1941	4 2

In fact, this process had been appreciably growing since the middle of the nineteenth century. The Famine Commission Report of 1880 already remarked that 'the numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are greatly in excess of what is really required for the thorough cultivation of the land '[5]

We can contrast this tendency with the opposite tendency in the European countries 'In France the percentage of agricultural population fell from 67 6 to 53 6 between 1876 and 1921, in Germany, the percentage fell from 61 to 37.8 between 1875 and 1919, in England and Wales it fell from 38 2 to 20 7 between 1871 and 1921 and in Denmark from 71 to 57 between 1880 and 1921 '[6]

This phenomenon was known as 'de-industrialization' of India, i e the destruction of the old handicraft industry without the proportional growth of modern industry The result was increasing overcrowding on land

The overcrowding on land accelerated the process of subdivision and fragmentation of land Regarding a typical Deccan village which he surveyed, H Mann remarked that the size of the average holding diminished from 40 acres in 1771 to 7 acres in 1915

The process of subdivision and fragmentation of land was not confined to the Deccan It continued with varying intensity in all provinces and all over India 'In the United Provinces the cultivated area comes to an average of 2.5 acres per

cultivator In Bengal the size of the average holding is 3 1 acres, in Assam 3 acres, in Bihar and Orissa 3 1, in Madras 4 9, C P 8 5, in the Punjab 9.2. and in Bombay 12 2 '[7]

These were, however, the figures of the average holdings They do not reveal the fact that the overwhelming number of holdings were of small size and uneconomic According to the *Agricultural Journal of India* for 1926, holdings were classified as follows

Over ten acres	24 per cent
5 to 10 acres	20 per cent
1 to 5 acres	33 per cent
One acre or less	23 per cent

Even regarding the Punjab, a relatively thriving agricultural zone, the Royal Commission on Agriculture remarked as follows:

'The Punjab figures indicate that 22 5 per cent of the cultivators cultivate 1 acre or less, 15 per cent cultivate between 1 and 2½ acres, 17 9 per cent between 2½ acres and 5 acres and 20 5 per cent between 5 and 10 acres'

The process of subdivision of land was also paralleled by that of its increasing fragmentation The Congress Agrarian Inquiry Committee Report described the situation in the United Provinces thus:

'This process of fragmentation of holding has steadily continued for the past so many years It is difficult to estimate the number of peasants who own plots of from a hundredth to a four hundredth of a bigha but it is fairly large '[8]

This extreme fragmentation of holdings made it very difficult for the agriculturist to carry on agricultural operations efficiently [9] The subdivision and fragmentation of land reached all over the country such a disastrous limit that, 'Even the plough may not be used on many small farms . As with greater fractionalization of holdings, the supply of agricultural labour increases, the use of spade and hoe becomes more common '[10] This was a strong technical evidence showing the appalling degree of subdivision and fragmentation of land

The absolute growth of population was an additional factor which intensified overcrowding on land The role of that factor, however, was often magnified.

It is necessary to recognize 'the fact that this extreme, exaggerated, disproportionate, and wasteful dependence on agriculture as the sole occupation for three-fourths of the people, is not an inherited characteristic of the old, primitive Indian society surviving into the modern period, but is, on the contrary, in its present scale a *modern* phenomenon and the direct consequence of imperialist rule The disproportionate dependence on agriculture has progressively increased under British rule This is the expression of the destruction of the old balance of industry and agriculture and the relegation of India to the role of an agricultural appendage of imperialism.'[11]

The overpressure on agriculture could not be explained by lack of sufficient land either 'Only 34 2 per cent of the total area is actually cultivated Leaving 35 2 per cent of the land as being not available for agriculture, we still have 30 6 per cent of the total area which can yet be cultivated In Sind and the Punjab, there are large tracts of potentially very fertile land which only need water but the Government does not propose irrigating these areas Moreover, the opening up of new agricultural tracts requires capital and the Indian peasantry with all its burden of indebtedness cannot possibly afford the necessary initial investment The government being supremely indifferent to the problem does not offer any subsidies or easy financial aid in any other form '[12]

Effects of Fragmentation

The effects of the extreme subdivision and fragmentation of land were highly detrimental both to agriculture and the economic position of the agriculturist

Large compact tracts of land as units of cultivation are physical premises for large-scale scientific agriculture Small holdings, further, split up into scattered and smaller plots, could not be made the adequate basis for a prosperous agriculture.

If small holdings largely explained the poverty of the peasant, this poverty of his explained why the peasant was

unable to improve the methods and technique of production. Having no money to invest in land, the peasant was constrained to stick to old primitive methods and means of production. He could not utilize scientific manure and modern agricultural machinery nor could he keep his livestock in a state of robust health and strength This only led to the progressive deterioration of agriculture.

As a result of overpressure on agriculture, pasture land providing fodder for the livestock was increasingly encroached upon for the purposes of agriculture and steadily diminished. This resulted in the diminution of fodder supply for the livestock which, consequently, in absence of sufficient nutrition, lost in vitality. This adversely affected agricultural productivity.

These multiple factors explain why the yield per acre of cultivated land steadily declined.

Visvesaraya remarked 'On the normal pre-war basis, the average production of British India including irrigated crops cannot be more than twenty-five rupees per acre; in Japan, it cannot be less than one hundred and fifty '[13]

We will now consider other factors which affected agriculture and the conditions of the agriculturists

New Land Revenue System

As observed earlier, the British government inaugurated an entirely new land revenue system. The agriculturist had to pay, under the new system, land revenue (in form of a definite sum) to the government every year whether the annual crop was successful or not In a country like India where there was no extensively ramified irrigation system guaranteeing security against absence of or insufficient rains, where even in a normal year he realized a meagre sum for his crops in the Indian or world market, it was inevitable that, sooner or later, the agriculturist could not meet the annual demand of the state He steadily sank into poverty and indebtedness.

That land revenue had been one of the main causes of the growth of poverty of the agriculturist and his resultant indebtedness was recognized as early as 1892 [14] Vaughan Nash, in his book *The Great Famine* remarked: 'I was perfectly satisfied during my visit to Bombay that the authorities re-

garded the moneylender as their mainstay for the payment of revenue'[15]

The land revenue system established by the British thus proved to be one of the main factors which led to the impoverishment and indebtedness of the agricultural population. 'A system which establishes fixed revenue assessments in cash, at a uniform figure for thirty-year periods at a time, irrespective of harvests or economic changes, may appear convenient to the revenue collector or to the government statesmen computing their budget; but to the countryman, who has to pay the uniform figure from a wildly fluctuating income, it spells ruin in bad years, and inevitably drives him into the hands of the moneylender Tardy suspensions or remission in extreme conditions may strive to mitigate, but cannot prevent this process'[16]

The harmful effects of the rigid land revenue system were further aggravated by the high amount of land revenue

At the time of the political transfer of India from the East India Company to the British Crown in 1857-8, the land revenue of the whole of India was £15 3 million. There was a progressive rise in the land revenue during the subsequent period By 1900-1, it rose to £17 5 million; by 1911-12 to £20 million and by 1936-7, it amounted to £23 9 million[17]

There was a constantly operating tendency of rise in the land revenue 'In Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces in particular, assessments have gone up by leaps and bounds' remarked Radhakamal Mukerjee in his work *Land Problems in India*.[18] He further stated: 'While the agricultural income during three decades (from 1890 to 1920) increased roughly by 30, 60 and 23 per cent, the land revenue increased by 57, 22 6 and 15 5 per cent in the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay respectively. Such a large increase of land revenue coupled with its commutation in cash and its collection at harvest time has worked very unfavourably on the economic condition of cultivators of uneconomic holdings who form the majority in these provinces'[19]

Excessive land revenue, in the conditions of the growth of uneconomic holdings due to the subdivision of and overcrowding on land, was the prime cause of the impoverishment of the Indian agriculturist in the earlier stages of the British rule The progressive inability of the agriculturist to meet the

increasing revenue claims of the state from his declining income brought about his subsequent indebtedness

Commercialization of Agriculture

There was another factor which adversely affected the agriculturist. It was the factor of the commercialization of agriculture under the British rule The agriculturist now produced for the Indian and the world market. He became thereby subject to all the vicissitudes of the ever erratic market. He had to compete with formidable international rivals like the big agrarian trusts of America Europe, and Australia, which produced on a mass scale and by means of tractors and other modern agricultural machinery while he himself cultivated his miserable strip of land by means of the labour power of a couple of famished bullocks and the primitive plough. Further, the commercialization made the agriculturist dependent, for sale of his product, on the middlemen, the merchants The merchant, by his superior economic position, took full advantage of the poverty of the peasant The poor peasant, having no economic reserves and confronted by the revenue claims of the government and increasingly also by the claim of the usurer, had to sell his product to the middleman at the harvest time This transaction originating in sheer necessity brought a less amount to the peasant than it would have if he could have waited The middleman thus appropriated a very large share of profit

Growth of Poverty

There were other factors which also contributed to the growth of poverty among the agriculturists In addition to such economic earthquakes as the periodically occurring agrarian crises, there were such non-social causes as drought, or devastating rains which also brought economic misery to the agriculturists The Indian peasant hardly had any economic reserves to fall back upon in bad times A large proportion of Indian peasants got into debt due to their inability to pay land revenue as a result of bad monsoons Famines were a feature of the economic existence of the Indian people

In addition to land tax, the agriculturist had to pay a

host of taxes on articles, of bare necessity such as kerosene, oil and salt 'A poor cultivator, who not only pays to the state a substantial portion of his income from land, but also bears the burden of the duties on sugar, kerosene, oil, salt and other articles of general consumption, seems to receive very different treatment from the big zemindar or landholder in areas where "permanent settlement" prevails, who owns extensive estates for which he may pay to the state a merely nominal charge fixed over a century ago and declared to be unalterable for ever, while his agricultural income is totally exempt from income tax.'[20]

Further, the state monopoly of forests prohibiting the people from picking wood for fuel or construction purposes forced the peasant to use cowdung for fuel instead of utilizing it as manure This reduced the returns from the land and further increased the poverty of the Indian agriculturist 'The havoc done by the Forest Laws is not sufficiently appreciated They vied only with Land Revenue assessments and the Salt Tax in burdening the people with fetters they could not bear.'[21]

It is obvious that the agriculturist who could not provide enough food for himself and his family, would be unable to keep his livestock in a fit condition While the bullocks multiplied, the nourishment they received diminished. This led to the villages being 'overstocked with herds of wretched, starving cattle', and accelerated the decline in the productivity of agriculture

The cumulative effect of all the factors enumerated above explains the growth of the phenomenal poverty of the agricultural population The growing disparity between his income and the claims he had to meet, constrained the agriculturist to contract more and more debts, even the interest on which he was unable to pay

It was a vicious circle Arising out of his poverty, the indebtedness of the agriculturist became, as it grew, the main cause of accentuating his poverty. Unable to pay his debt and even interest on it, the agriculturist not only lost his crops to the moneylender but rapidly lost his land to him This process of expropriation of the land of the agriculturists advanced during the present century at an accelerated rate

Growth of Rural Indebtedness

There was a progressive rise in the indebtedness of the Indian agriculturists under the British rule It swelled from decade to decade.

The agrarian indebtedness had reached a high level even in 1880 'One-third of the landholding classes are deeply and inextricably in debt and at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves '[22]

The indebtedness of the rural population was increasing since 1880, even at a geometrical rate This was recognized by all investigators of this phenomenon.[23]

'The vast majority of peasants live in debt to the money-lender.' (Simon Report, Vol. I, p 16)

There were various attempts, from time to time, to assess the agrarian indebtedness which assumed colossal proportions These estimates revealed the growing curve of this indebtedness Maclagan estimated it at 300 crores for British India in 1911; M L Darling at 600 crores in 1925, the Central Banking Inquiry Committee Report at 900 crores in 1929; and the Agricultural Credit Department at 1,800 crores in 1937.[24]

The world economic crisis of 1929 affected the Indian agricultural classes very seriously They lost so heavily due to the catastrophic fall of prices of agricultural commodities that during the period from 1929 to 1936 their total indebtedness rose to the staggering figure of about Rs 1,800 crores 'The main cause of this phenomenal increase has been that while since 1929 the incomes of the agriculturists have been reduced by more than half, the burden of taxation on the peasantry has remained the same. The remissions granted by the Government in certain distressed areas have been miserably small In the Zemindari areas an additional factor has been the increased burden of litigation cost on the peasantry Complete inability to pay rents on the part of the tenants has led to large accumulation of arears and to extensive litigation by the zemindars This has taxed the cultivators heavily who in their present condition have to rely entirely on the money-lender for meeting the litigation costs '[25]

'By far the largest part of indebtedness is due to the fact that over

75 per cent of the peasants cannot get even a bare livelihood from land. [26]

'Thus indebtdeness is one of the acutest problems of rural India today The position today is that over 80 per cent of the peasants with their present holdings can never pay up their debts'[27]

Transfer of Land from Cultivating to Non-Cultivating Owners

Due to the expanding indebtedness of the agriculturists, large-scale transfer of land from the hands of the peasant proprietors to the moneylenders took place in the Ryotwari areas and mass ejection of tenants from land occupied by them in the Zemindari zones.

The moneylender exploited the economic helplessness of the peasant with the thoroughness of the traditional Shylock The rates of interest, though varying from province, were always high. They ranged from a minimum of 12 per cent to even the exhorbitant figure of 200 or 300 per cent[28] This made the village *sahukar* an object of almost universal dislike, even detestation He was looked upon as the very embodiment of rapacity and inhumanity and served the role of the villain in literature, stage plays and film stories in the country

The moneylender, in addition to legal methods, employed also fraudulent measures to squeeze out the agriculturist such as making him sign a bond for a sum greater than what had been advanced to him, keeping false accounts and others He took advantage of the ignorance of the peasant who could not detect fraud and of his poverty which made it difficulty or often impossible to resort to court action

The attempt made by the government to solve the problem of rural indebtedness, by means of a series of legislative measures, did not meet with any tangible success. 'Legislative measures to deal with the problem of indebtedness have proved a comparative failure' commented the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture

Regarding the causes of the colossal irremediable and unbearable indebtedness of the agriculturists, the Report added:

'To a very great extent, the cultivator in India labours not for profit, not for a net return but for subsistence The overcrowding of the people on the land, the lack of alternative means of securing a living, the diffi-

culty of finding any avenue of escape ..combine to force the cultivator to grow food wherever he can and on whatever terms he can Where his land has passed into the possession of his creditor, no legislation will serve his need no tenancy law will protect him; for food he needs land and for land he must plead before a creditor to whom he probably already owes more than the total value of the whole of his assets.'

Under the new land system, land became a marketable article. While giving the peasant the freedom to mortgage or sell his land, it also gave the creditor of the indebted peasant freedom to seize the latter's land In the conditions of poverty engendered by the new economic environs more and more land began to be transferred to the moneylender in lieu of the debt the peasant owed to him Largescale expropriation of the Indian peasanty leading to the widespread growth of absentee landlordism took place

Transfer of land from the cultivating owner to the non-cultivating owner, a merchant or a usurer, did not result in any improvement in the means and methods of agriculture The Deccan Commission appointed in 1892 to report on the working of the Agriculturists' Relief Act criticized 'the transfer of the land in an agricultural country to a body of rack-renting aliens who do nothing for the improvement of the land'[29]

The heavy burden of debt had an undermining effect on the incentive of the agriculturist and agriculture Henry W Wolff, late president of the International Co-operative Alliance, remarked· 'The country is, so Sir Daniel Hamilton has graphically put it "in the grip of the Mahajan" It is the bonds of debt which shackle agriculture It is usury—the rankest, most extortionate, most merciless usury—which eats the marrow out of the bones of the ryot and condemns him to a life of penury and slavery in which not only is economic production hopeless, but in which also energy and will become paralysed and man sinks down beaten into a state of resigned fatalism from which hope is shut out and life drags on wearily and unprofitably as if with no object in view There is no use in denying the fact. It is plain to all eyes'

Rise of Serfdom

Indebtedness led even to the transformation of the agricultu-

rist into a serf in some parts of India Economic servitude arising from modern indebtedness acquired a medieval form

'Of the extreme to which economic servitude can extend, where the moneylender's grip is strong, two instances may be given In Bihar and Orissa, we were told of a system known as kamiauti which is practically one of cultivation by serfs Kamias are bound servants of their masters, in return for a loan received they bind themselves to perform whatever menial services are required of them in lieu of the interest due on the loan Landlords employing labour for the cultivation of their private land prefer to have a first call on the labourers they require, and hence the practice arose of binding the labourers by means of an advance, given conditionally upon their services remaining always at the call of the landlord for the purpose of agriculture Such labourers get a daily wage in kind for those days on which they work for their creditors In practice the system leads to absolute degradation of the kamias In the first place, the kamia cannot bargain about his wages The wages represent only one-third of the day's wage for free labour hired, for example, by a contractor for road repair work The kamia never sees any money, unless it be the occasional few pice he may earn in his spare time Consequently, he has no chance of ever repaying the principal of his debt and becoming a free man again A Kamiauti bond, therefore, involves a life sentence'[10]

Under the new legal system, the rich moneylender had an advantage over the poor agriculturist since litigation was expensive While the former could employ lawyers and hold out even if the suit dragged on, the poor agriculturist, who could hardly maintain himself on his income, could much less mobilize the costly legal services of lawyers In enforcing his claims, the shrewd moneylender generally took full advantage of that situation

The heavy indebtedness of the agriculturists was frequently explained on the ground that they suffered from the habit of extravagance and squandered money on social and religious occasions Investigation of experts into the family budgets of the agriculturists, however, revealed that the expenses incurred by them for such functions constituted only a small fraction of their income [11]

Another feature of this sorry state of things was that even if the measures of the government or humanitarian bodies brought some economic advantage to a section of agriculturists, in the condition in which he was placed, he generally did not benefit much by them The moneylender or landlord, in lieu of his claims which were too formidable to meet com-

pletely, seized this gain

The cause of the immense poverty of the Indian agriculturists and their resultant indebtedness as also of the decline of productivity of Indian agriculture worked on the basis of uneconomic holdings and primitive technique, lay deeper It was due to the predominantly colonial character of Indian agriculture and general Indian economy with all their disabilities for a normal free evolution

The immense poverty of the Indian agriculturists and their indebtedness progressively led to the expropriation of their land by the merchant, the moneylender or the landlord The number of peasant proprietors diminished and land steadily concentrated in the hands of an increasingly narrowing number of owners While a very small fraction of the poor and middle strata of the peasantry grew into rich peasants, by far the bigger portion of them dropped into the ranks of tenants or agricultural labourers.

Growing Polarization of Classes in Agrarian Areas

Thus a process of class differentiation went on, continuously and at an increasing pace, among the agricultural population The number of cultivating owners and tenants steadily diminished while that of the non-cultivating landlords grew.

This was the new type of absentee and non-cultivating landlord class which emerged in addition to the class of zemindars created and confirmed in permanent proprietory rights by the British government, such as the class of zemindars in Bengal, Bihar, Madras and other parts of the country

The following figures reveal the high rate at which the growth of non-cultivating landlords and the parallel growth of agricultural labourers took place in British India·[32]

	1921 Millions	1931 Millions
Non-cultivating landlords	3 7	4 1
Cultivators (owners or tenants)	74 6	65.5
Agricultural labourers	21 7	33 5

We will illustrate this process by taking instances of the Provinces of Madras and Bengal

Figures for Madras (per thousand)[33]

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Non-working landlords	19	23	49	34
Non-working tenants	1	4	28	16
Working landlords	484	426	381	390
Working tenants	151	207	225	120
Proletariat	345	340	317	429

Figures for Bengal (per thousand)[34]

	1921	1931	Percentage increase or decrease
Non-cultivating landlords or rent receivers	390	634	+62
Cultivating owners and tenants	9,275	6,041	—35
Proletariat	1,805	2,719	+50

Other provinces revealed the same tendency of the growing class differentiation among the agrarian population. Since the same causes operated everywhere, the same consequence appeared

There was a progressive rise in the number of agricultural labourers. The number which stood at 7½ millions in 1882, swelled to 21½ millions in 1921 and about 33 millions in 1931 Experts on this subject reached the conclusion that since 1931, there was a further growth of the agricultural proletariat[35]

Non-cultivating landlords, cultivating owners and tenants, and land labourers did not exhaust all social groups associated with agriculture Below the stratum of landless proletariat, there were other sections of agricultural population who lived in great poverty and conditions almost of serfdom.

Serf and semi-serf forms of labour were rampant in many parts of the country Dublas and Halis in Gujerat, Padial in Tamil Nad, Bhakela in Hyderabad, Barsalia in the C P and such groups in other zones, formed the nethermost stratum of Indian society, living in conditions of almost medieval economic exploitation and social bondage[36]

The conditions of some of these groups were those of near slavery as in the case of Halis in Gujerat 'Halis are agricultural labourers who do not work for wages at their own con-

venience but are maintained hereditarily as permanent estate servants by the larger landlords who provide them also with home and food They cannot resign and seek occupation elsewhere There is virtually no difference between the position of thse Halis and the slaves on the American plantations prior to the Civil War except that the courts would not recognize the rights of the masters as absolute over the persons and services of these people. They are freemen *de jure* but slaves *de facto* '[37]

The conditions of life and labour of workers of such agrarian capitalist enterprises as the extensive rubber, tea and coffee plantations, a great majority of which were owned by European companies, were also bad. European capital selected colonial countries as fields of investment mainly because labour in these countries was chaep. Apart from the low level of wages of the workers on these mostly European-owned plantations, they were subjected to a number of restrictions due to the fact that they were required to stay with their families on the estates.[38]

Rise of Agrarian Proletariat

As mentioned before, due to the impoverishment of the large section of peasant proprietors, the class of land labourers rapidly grew in India, and was estimated by experts to be even so big as to constitute nearly half the agricultural population The condition even of the poor peasant owners who still owned their lands, or sub-tenants, was so bad that there was no appreciable difference between it and that of land-labourers.

'We find it difficult to draw a clear line between cultivation by farm servants and sub-letting Sub-letting is rarely on a money rental It is commonly on a sharing system, the landlord getting 40 to 60 or even 80 per cent of the yield The tenant commonly goes on from year to year eking out a precarious living on such terms, borrowing from the landlord, being supplied by him with seed, cattle and implements The farm servant, on the other hand, uses the landlord's seed, cattle and implements, gets advances in cash from time to time, or petty requirements, and is paid from the harvests either a lump sum of grain or proportion of the yield The farm servant may in some cases be paid a little cash as well as a fixed amount of grain The tenant may cultivate with his own stock and implements but there is, in practice, no

very clear line between the two; and when the landlord is an absentee, it is not always obvious whether the actual cultivator is a farm labourer or a sub-tenant'[39]

The class of agricultural proletariat combined with the large mass of the poor peasants, a good proportion of whom were also semi-proletarians, formed the large majority of the agricultural population. Their number daily increased due to a process of steady impoverishment of the upper peasantry and the expropriation of their land. Only a tiny fraction of the middle and upper layers grew into prosperous small and big landlords.

Rise of Parasitic Land-owning Class

This class of landlords, composed of moneylenders, merchants or those who had amassed wealth in urban vocations, like the old class of zemindars, in general did not play any useful progressive role in agricultural development. Both these landlord classes, old and new, evinced no live interest in agriculture beyond that of gathering rent from their tenants In a country like India where there were limited industrial avenues of capital investment and where there was excessive demand for land, investment in land was found more profitable

Agriculture was alien to this new non-agriculturist type of landlord, the merchant, the moneylender, or the wealthy city dweller. As a rule, he did not feel any urge to organize and look after agricultural production on his land, to improve its methods and technique.[40] Since he had no vital interest in agriculture, he had purchased or secured land from the peasant debtor in a haphazard way, and not in a compact mass. Since land hunger was acute in the countryside, he leased out his land to tenants on the basis of heavy rent.

The old class of zemindars, to which this new class of landlords was added, also remained an unprogressive class, which beyond claiming and collecting harsh rents from their tenants took very little interest in agriculture.

The unprogressive character of the old zemindars was criticized not only by the nationalists, but also by British viceroys, statesmen and publicists, who frequently advised them, in the interest of their continued existence as a class, to relax

rent burdens on tenants, to take a personal interest in agriculture and reconstruct it on a better technical and scientific basis This advice given to them with a view to transforming them from conservative, passive, semi-feudal landlords, into active, enterprising, modern capitalist landlords did not bear fruit.

The Indian zemindar never rose to the level of his compeer in the west. He did not inaugurate scientific agriculture on his estates, did not become the pioneer of mechanization of agriculture replacing the plough, the ancient technique of Indian cultivation, with the modern tractor, thus exiling the former as the technical category of the past

The almost exclusive interest of the Indian zemindar was to wring out maximum rents from the tenants A number of tenancy acts had to be enacted to protect the tenant from the harsh exactions, legal and even illegal, of the zemindars. These defence measures, however, did not prove effective.

Another feature of the zemindari agriculture was that, as a rule, there developed a host of intermediaries between the cultivating tenant and the zemindars, due to the widespread practice of renting and sub-renting of land Radhakamal Mukerjee described this process of sub-infeudation thus 'The zemindar need not part with his estate by an absolute sale, but can raise money by allowing his proprietary right to be subdivided into smaller estates of minor values; he still retains his status and receives an annuity that leaves enough margin for his payment of government revenue. Inferior tenure holders follow the same practice, with the result that middlemen after middlemen spring up who have no interest in the improvement of the land . There is a close similarity between the landlords' estates in Northern India and the latifundia in Italy and Spain. The estates in both cases are owned by great landlords whose sole interest in their property is in their rents They let to one or more middlemen who make what profit they can during the term of their lease Many of the landlords of Bengal .. like those of Italy and Spain are absentees and attend to their property only for the purpose of receiving their rents.'[41]

'In some districts the sub-infeudation has grown to astonishing proportions, as many as 50 or more intermediary interests having been created between the zemindars at the top and the actual cultivator at the

bottom'[42]

As a result of this, the cultivating tenant, the last link in the chain of the graded hierarchy, bore the burden of the entire army of the non-cultivating rent receivers It was not one Old Man of the Sea who rode the back of the peasant-Sindbad It was an army of such Old Men whose combined rent pressure constituted an almost unbearable burden on him.

The practice of renting and sub-renting of land steadily grew also in the Ryotwari area with the land passing from the hands of the cultivating peasant proprietor to the non-cultivating owner The new landlord leased out his holding to tenants who further sub-let it, till a chain of intermediaries was formed The cultivating tenant who constituted the last link in that chain had to bear the burden of maintaining this host of non-cultivating rent receivers.

Thus the phenomenon of rackrenting, which was formerly confined to the zemindari areas, appeared with the growth of absentee landlordism in the Ryotwari areas also. 'Even in the Ryotwari tracts, there has been a large increase in the number of tenants and sub-tenants. 30 per cent of the lands in Bombay and Madras Provinces are not cultivated by the tenants themselves So also in the Punjab, the number of rent receivers has increased recently from six to ten million In the United Provinces, the rent receivers have increased by 46 per cent between 1891 and 1921 and during the same period in the Central Provinces, there was a 50 per cent increase'[43] The problem of rackrenting, like the problems of sub-division and fragmentation of land, of overpressure on agriculture, of the declining productivity and technical backwardness of agriculture, of the heavy growth of peasant indebtedness and of the general pauperization and proletarianization of the Indian agriculturists, became, by its very universality and by its being the effect of the same causes which brought about the other results, a national problem

Colonial Character of Indian Agriculture

While the British conquest and rule in India led the Indian agricultural economy to evolve on new lines of development, this development, due to the colonial subordinate

position of India, did not proceed freely and, therefore, did not lead to a prosperous agriculture and a flourishing agrarian population.

In England, France and other free capitalist countries, with the introduction of capitalist relations in agriculture, agriculture reached higher and higher peaks of productivity and agricultural population higher and higher level of prosperity. The technical basis of agriculture became increasingly more and more mechanized, thereby raising the productivity of agricultural labour The plough and other medieval implements of agricultural labour were increasingly supplanted by modern agricultural machinery such as tractors, threshers and harvesters. Compact farms as physical units of agriculture came into existence The material and cultural level of agricultural population also rose higher and higher

It is true that even in free capitalist countries, with the general decline of the capitalist economy resulting in disastrous and more frequently occurring economic crises in recent times, both agriculture and the agricultural population were affected. Still, the effects of these crises both on agricultural economy and population did not prove so ruinous as on the colonial agriculture and agricultural population of India.

In contrast to these countries, the introduction of new land relations in agriculture was not accompanied by a simultaneous and parallel growth of modern capitalist industries in India. The mass of Indian handicraftsmen ruined as a result of the influx of manufactured machine-made goods of British industries were not absorbed in any extensively developed indigenous industries The ruined mass of these handicraftsmen, in the main, took to agriculture for subsistence This led to overpressure on agriculture which proved one of the major obstacles to the growth of a prosperous agriculture in India It was this overcrowding on land which primarily explained the ruinous subdivision and fragmentation of land resulting in the growth of uneconomic holdings, the deterioration of agriculture and the steady impoverishment of the agriculturists Even after indigenous industries began to grow in India after 1850, the rate of their expansion lagged behind the rate at which the handicrafts of India were being ruined

The overcrowding on land with resultant subdivision and fragmentation of land brought about a steady decline in the

income of the broad strata of the agricultural population. The action of the frequently occurring agrarian crises, the vicissitudes of the world market, and the exploitation of the agriculturists by the merchant middlemen on whom they were dependent for the sale of their products and who took full advantage of their economic helplessness and ignorance, further reduced their income. They were being impoverished at a rapidly rising rate.

Unable to pay land revenue which was excessive and compelled to purchase articles of primary necessity which were heavily taxed by the government, the mass of agriculturists were driven more and more to borrow from moneylenders or co-operatives The moneylenders extorted high interest from the agriculturists who, in course of time, were not only unable to repay the debt but even to pay interest regularly on that debt. This indebtedness of the overwhelming majoritiy of the agricultural population reached monstrous proportions It further accentuated their poverty

The process of impoverishment which enveloped more and more strata of agricultural population disastrously affected agriculture. The impoverished agriculturist could not renew his livestock or properly manure the field He and his family lost physical energy due to malnutrition and thereby capacity for labour on the field Thus, agriculture stagnated, in fact, deteriorated The yield per acre steadily diminished

With the increasing impoverishment and resultant indebtedness of the ever increasing strata of the agriculturists, land rapidly passed into the hands of rich landlords, merchants and moneylenders This led to the growth of a new landlord class in addition to the class of zemindars created by the British rule in an earlier period This new class of absentee landlords had no vital interest in land They did not introduce any technical improvement in agriculture. On the other hand, taking advantage of the extreme land hunger rampant among the peasantry, they rented the land to tenants who frequently sub-rented it to sub-tenants Thus a hierarchy grew among the agricultural population The actually cultivating subtenant who was the last link in the chain had to carry the entire heavy load of non-cultivating landlords, tenants and sub-tenants over him This renting and sub-renting of land also further accentuated the sub-division of land and its frag-

mentation, making the holdings more and more uneconomic

The passing of the land from the hands of the peasant proprietors into the hands of non-cultivating landlords brought about, increasing polarization of classes in agrarian areas. At one pole of the agrarian population the class of non-cultivating landlords grew increasingly, at the other, the rapidly swelling class of agricultural proletariat as well as of the poorest peasants and sub-tenants who were hardly distinguishable from land labourers.

Thus the class of landless peasants and that of non-cultivating rent receivers continuously increased Property in land accumulated at one pole of agrariain society and landlessness and extreme poverty at the other This tendency grew alarmingly after 1914 Radhakamal Mukerjee remarked 'So long as there is no radical change in the rural economy of India through land adjustments, agricultural co-operation or scientific farming, the problem of the landless peasants will become more and more acute and there will be a tendency for this class to come in line with the industrial proletariat of the cities That will portend social upheavals '[44]

Thus the introduction of new land relations in agriculture in the conditions of the subordinate colonial position of India, did not result in any modernization and mechanization of agriculture nor did it bring, even for a period, prosperity to the mass of the agricultural population While social relations in agriculture changed from village ownership or possession of land into private property in land, the technical basis of agriculture remained the same

The colonial Indian peasant working with the primitive plough and on an uneconomic holding, had to compete in the Indian and world market with powerful agrarian capitalist trusts or prosperous capitalist farmers of free countries like England, France, the U S A and Australia, which produced on large estates or extensive farms and with modern machinery As a result of this whenever the cyclone of agrarian crises broke out, the colonial Indian peasant was unable to withstand its devastating force He sank into greater and greater impoverishment and the resultant indebtedness

Since the Indian people were not politically independent, they could not formulate and put into action independent economic policies such as would aid the free development of

Indian economy, its industry, commerce and agriculture. The development of Indian agriculture was adjusted to the economic necessities of British capitalism which required India primarily as an agrarian colony for the production of raw materials for British industries This prevented the independent development of Indian agriculture, fulfilling the economic requirements of the Indian people. Indian agriculture remained, therefore, distorted in its development—'lop-sided'

In spite of this, it must be recognized that, by bringing the village agricultural production within the sphere of Indian and world markets, by making agriculture an organic part of Indian economy, the British rule over India elevated Indian agriculture to the status of a national agriculture. This was a progressive aspect of the British conquest

Since Indian agriculture became national in character, its problems also assumed national significance Previously, in the period of the self-sufficient villages, agriculture was a part of the self-sufficient village economy Problems connected with it were problems of the autarchic economy of the village, primarily affecting the village community only and not the population outside the village It is true that the state was dependent for land revenue on village agriculture but, so far as the general population was concerned, it was not dependent on the agriculture of the particular village The population of every village depended mainly on the agricultural produce of its own village and not on that of other villages. Every town had a group of villages in its periphery which provided its agricultural needs Hence every village had its own independent problem connected with agriculture

After the elevation of Indian agriculture to the level of national agriculture, the problems of agriculture assumed a national character The state of agriculture of a particular village or district affected the rest of the country since the agriculture in a particular centre produced not only for that centre but for the entire country and even for the world Hence, such problems as the decline of agriculture, the deterioration of livestock, the poverty and indebtedness of the peasantry, subdivision and fragmentation of land, became national problems Not only that the agricultural population of India felt in this their common problems arising out of the same causes such as absentee landlordism, excessive land reve-

nue, lack of sufficient industrialization of India, etc. but even classes associated with modern industries in India considered these problems as their own The state of agriculture and the condition of the agriculturists affected the state of industry and the economic position of non-agricultural classes also. Thus the problems of agriculture and the conditions of the agriculturists all became national problems.

Since the problems of Indian agriculture became national and were conditioned by the same causes, these problems served as focal points for the mobilization of the people and its different sections on a national scale. Every party representing the interests of a particular social group had its own programme and policy for the reconstruction of national agriculture corresponding with the interests of that group The conflict of interests between different classes, even between various sections of the agricultural population itself such as landlords, peasant proprietors, tenants, and land labourers, made different programmes and policies of different classes divergent Still the significant fact remained that all these different and often even antagonistic programmes and policies referred to and revolved round the problem of national agriculture, an integral part of the Indian national economy

Reconstruction of Agriculture, Its Pre-requisites

The restoration and reconstruction, on a prosperous basis, of Indian agriculture and improvement of the material standards of the agricultural population, became the common objective of all those numerous programmes and policies.

Since it was Great Britain which created the new agrarian system in India and determined the political and economic policies affecting Indian agriculture, all movements of various classes for the restoration and reconstruction of Indian agriculture were designed to exert pressure on the British government to bring about this restoration and reconstruction. Since the British government was not a national but a foreign government, these movements assumed a national complexion Thus various sections of the people who pressed on the British government to introduce reform or revolution in the sphere of agriculture, felt inspired with a national sentiment since this pressure was exerted on a foreign government. Thus

national agriculture built up by the British conquest and rule in India brought about a common material interest in agriculture among the Indian people This paved way for the growth of a national sentiment among them to strive for a prosperous national agriculture

The problem of the reconstruction of Indian agriculture and its further development as also of the transformation of the agrarian population into a prosperous community was a stupendous one Its solution demanded a comprehensive plan which had to be an integral part of a planned national economy, since no single sector of Indian economy could advance without a general advance of the entire economy 'The planning of agricultural production must be correlated to a planning of industrial production, and these two again can be successful only if they rest upon the foundation of a planned currency and credit organization'[45]

Since the existing land relations and heavy mass indebtedness were two of the principal causes of the impoverishment of the agricultural population and resultant degeneration of agriculture, the programme of planned national agriculture required to embody vital items like radical revision of existing property relations in land and cancellation of debts Such a programme could be carried through only by overcoming the most stubborn resistance of landlords, moneylenders and other groups of vested interests like the Indian bourgeoisie who had interests in land also Therefore, sporadic and partial measures, which had been adopted, did not and could not yield any really tangible results 'The debt of the cultivating classes is but the symptom of a deeply rooted disease Legislation scaling down the debt or restricting the activities of the moneylenders will not cure the disease'[56]

And, further, 'Not until the ryots are enabled to start on a clean slate by measures like wholesale cancellation of existing debts and get security with regard to agricultural operations ... by a many-sided and simultaneous attack on all the factors connected with their poverty, can here be a reasonable hope of better and more prosperous condition of Indian agriculture'[47]

The same authors remark 'If instead of resorting to measures of a tinkering and halting character, we consider the possibility of a redistribution of land with consolidated hold-

ings and co-operative large-scale production, such measures may have revolutionary implications, involving a prolonged struggle with vested interests, ranging from the moneylenders to the feudatory and absentee landlords. . The choice lies between drastic and radical measures planned with a view to bringing about reconstruction of our social and economic organization, or a continuance of the present planless drift, with sporadic attempts at halting reforms which may end in a grave agricultural crisis followed by a violent revolution'[48]

A national plan of agricultural reconstruction, having, as its objective, free development of agriculture from the standpoint of the general economic advance and needs of the Indian people, required as an indispensable prerequisite political power in the hands of the Indian people Thus the fulfilment of a programme of a planned and prosperous national agriculture presupposed as a prerequisite a real national government which would reflect the will, the interests and the needs of the mass of the Indian people, and not those of vested interests, foreign or indigenous.

It must also be recognized that such a colossal task as the reconstruction of the entire agrarian economy implying a planned mobilization and use of all available physical, technical and human resources of the vast sub-continent of India could not be realized by private enterprises, capitalist or individual. Only the state could accomplish it. The plan would also imply the elimination of profit motive and competition from the sphere of agricultural production and had to be based on the principle of co-operation and production from the standpoint of the needs of the Indian people and general advance of Indian economy 'The type of agricultural organization we are visualizing is an organization based on the state regulation of production in the general interests of our people and the conversion of agricultural production into a public utility service'[49]

It is obvious that only a real national government of the Indian people (and not of the Indian or foreign vested interests) could put such a plan into successful action

Thus the restoration and further develolpment of Indian agriculture was not a mere 'techno-economic' problem Basically, it was a socio-economic and 'political' problem. It was bound up with rapid and free all-round development of Indian

industries which not only could absorb surplus population in the countryside but could also provide agricultural machinery for the modernization and mechanization of Indian agriculture It also was bound up with the problem of the overhauling of the existing property relations in land It further raised the problem of political power, of the establishment of an independent sovereign state of the Indian people where power lay in the hands of the producing and exploited strata of the people themselves and not in those of Indian vested interests

Thus bound up with the problem of freedom and a socio-economic reconstruction of Indian society on a historically higher level, the problem of agricultural reconstruction had a progressive national character.

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CHAPTER V

DECLINE OF TOWN HANDICRAFTS

Effect of British Rule on Town Handicrafts

THE effect of the British rule on the town handicrafts is, very succinctly summarized by D R. Gadgil in the following words: 'The only dramatic event in this economic transition is perhaps, the decline of the old handicrafts. The collapse of these was indeed sudden and complete '[1] He further remarks: 'The causes working towards this result were very numerous. But the most important of these were (1) The disappearance of the native Indian courts, (2) the establishment of an alien rule, with the influx of the many foreign influences that such a change in the nature of government meant; (3) the competition of a more highly developed form of industry.'[2]

We shall now survey this 'sudden and complete, collapse of the town handicrafts in India under the British rule in detail.

Disappearance of States, Patrons of Town Handicrafts

The conquest of India by the East India Company resulted in the disappearance of native rulers in rapid succession. State after state vanished, their place being taken by the new forms of rule and administration evolved by the East India Company Even the territory where native rulers were not ousted came under the indirect political domination of the British This disappearance and decline of states had a direct and immediate effect on the town handicrafts of India. As observed, the states were the biggest customers of the town handicraft products Further, they, in many cases, maintained large manufactories and workshops and employed some of the best

craftsmen Hence their disappearance and decline, 'struck the first blow at Indian handicrafts by steadily curtailing the demand for their products. The immediate effect of this was the stoppage of the production of the highest class of goods such as would be required only by the princes and the highest nobles on a big State occasion The ordinary demand did continue for some time even after this disappearance of the courts, but it invariably had a tendency to diminish steadily '[3]

The disappearance of the states also affected the industries which supplied the goods needed for the military and other purposes of these states To take an instance, the production of military weapons like swords, spears, deggers, shields and other varieties of arms made of iron and steel, and the accompanying artistic industries like enamelling and damascening work had reached a high state of development in pre-British India The disappearance of the states had a very ruinous effect on these industries

Foreign Fule, its Disastrous Effects on Town Handicrafts

We shall now survey the effects of the establishment of the foreign rule along with foreign influences on the manufactures of India

The East India Company, from 1600 to 1757, was essentially a trading corporation which carried on trade in India under the patronage and with the permission of the Indian kings, and sometimes even in defiance of them However, it was essentially a trading company which brought goods or bullion from foreign countries to exchange them for the luxury articles from India such as spices, textiles, and others During this period the export trade of manufactured articles in India increased

"The end of the seventeenth century marks the highest point in the export of silk and cotton goods It was an extremely profitable business for the company, and in 1672 "several artificers such as throwsters, weavers, and dyers were sent over by the Company with great quantities of English patterns, to teach Indian weavers new methods of manufacturing goods suitable to English and European markets" '[4]

Thus the export trade of India increased during the

period when the East India Company was a trading concern, and when it struggled to open markets for the Indian goods in England and other countries. During this period, the British government, perturbed by the flow of Indian goods into England, had to pass laws such as would make the sale of Indian goods in England difficult [5]

The victory of Plassey placed the East India Company in a favourable position in India It thereby secured the weapon of political power which could be used to create facilities for pushing its trade, to dictate its own terms to artisans and manufacturers, to get commodities at a cheaper price, to monopolize these handicraftsmen, to force its imported goods on the people of India, and also to oust rival traders, both foreign and indigenous, by political measures with a view to maintaining its monopoly position

Between 1757 and 1857, the East India Company expanded its control over more and more territory in India, eliminated a number of states and drained enormous wealth from India, which, though called 'Plunder' by the critics of the East India Company, became the necessary capital ('primitive accumulation') for carrying through the Industrial Revolution in England In his work entitled *The Law of Civilization and Decay* Brooks Adams elucidates this point very succinctly·

'Plassey was fought in 1757 and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed In 1760 the flying shuttle appeared and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, in 1776 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the powerloom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralizing energy But though these machines served as outlets for the accelerating movement of the time, they did not cause that acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded, but in motion Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together Possibly, since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder, because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor From 1694 to Plassey (1757) the growth has been relatively slow Between

1760 to 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious'[6]

The Industrial Revolution, thus brought about, created a powerful industrial and manufacturing class in England This class increasingly got control of state power in Britain which it used to deprive, in course of time, the East India Company of its monopoly of the Eastern trade and also to compel it to adopt economic and political measures as would serve the economic needs of the British industries After a stubborn struggle, industrial capital scored a political victory over trading capital in Britain.

It was during this period of the increasing strength of the industrial class in England that Indian handicrafts received a powerful blow and rapidly declined We shall study the various factors which brought about this ruination

The blow to the export trade of India with Britain came from the various measures adopted by the government preventing Indian goods from flooding the English market, and, thereby, giving protection to the rising English manufactures which still could not compete with Indian goods As Horace Wilson vividly describes it 'The history of the trade of cotton cloths with India....is.. a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent .. Had no such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped at their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated .. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms'[7]

B D. Basu in his well-known work *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* gives a detailed table of the heavy duties imposed on different goods imported into England from India, which very clearly reveals how the export trade of India was deliberately thwarted by the British government to foster its own industries and supply them with a home market.[8]

However, foreign countries were a minor market for the products of Indian handicrafts The major market was India itself[9] It is here that the foreign influences and the foreign rule had a very disastrous effect

Reasons for Their Ruination

The rule of the East India Company proved disastrous to the handicraft industry in India for a number of reasons The first reason was that it destroyed the native states, which were the greatest customers and patrons of this industry. Secondly, the East India Company, which was the successor of these States, could have given impetus to the industries, but, being a foreign company under the control and direction of a foreign power, it adopted measures under the pressure of the British government which proved detrimental to the manufacturing interests of India Thirdly, being a trading company, it wanted to produce things cheaply and sell them profitably in other market. The heavy duties levied on Indian goods in England further necessitated the lowering of the cost of the goods which it bought to maintain the level of profit To attain this purpose, it monopolized weavers and other handicraftsmen, and compelled them to produce things at a stipulated price Having also political power, it could bring political pressure on them to submit to its demands The Company prevented handicraftsmen from selling their products to Indian or other foreign merchants at a higher price thus reducing them to the position of virtual slaves. Fourthly, it imposed customs and adopted transit measures in India which created such unfavourable conditions for the Indian merchants that they could not carry on internal trade effectively These measures, designed to oust all rival traders and to acquire monopoly trade control over the Indian market, by stopping the Indian merchants from carrying on internal trade, crippled the market for Indian handicraft products Further, by 1813, the industrial classes had become politically powerful in England. The Charter of 1813 destroyed the monopoly of trade of the East India Company and opened India for Free Trade to all merchants of England. These merchants were of a different category from the merchants who came during the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries This class of merchants did not come to India to buy manufactured goods produced in India but to secure a market for the manufactured goods produced in the mills of England, and to secure raw materials from India to supply those mills. From 1814 onwards, the policy of the East India Company government, which had now mainly become a political instrument of the industrial classes of England, was to adopt measures which would facilitate the import and the export of Indian raw materials to Britain required by the British industries Further, the establishment of the British rule in India and the new type of government which it set up, created 'the new types of wealthy Indians the business-men, the Europeanized officials, the successful moneylenders'[10] who had different tastes, and who did not patronize 'the very elaborate Oriental work, much of which was only suitable for a feudal method of living'[11] and hence not suited to their new way of living

We shall now see how these multifold reasons gave a mortal blow to the town industries

To counteract the effects of the heavy duties which were imposed on the goods imported into England by the East India Company and also to get the goods as cheap as possible, the merchants of the Company used very harsh measures against the handicraftsmen[12]

The oppressive methods adopted by the agents and merchants of the Company, assisted by the regulations passed by it like the Act of 1793 in Bengal, had a very disastrous effect on the life of the handicraftsmen and the condition of their work. Thousands of families of weavers began to abandon their profession Bolts mentions 'Above seven hundred families of weavers, in the districts round Jungalbarry, at once abandoned their country and their professions on account of oppressions of this nature'.[13]

Thus the new rulers who replaced the native states reduced the handicraftsmen almost to a condition of slavery and put obstacles in the way of a free existence of the industry As a result of this, the industry suffered both in extent and efficiency, and a growing number of families of the towns handicraftsmen started abandoning their profession

The iniquitous system of transit duties and customs within the country and the various coercive methods that were

adopted by the customs officers have been vividly set forth by Sir Charles Trevelyan in his famous *Report on Transit Duties* 'No less than two hundred and thirty-five articles of personal and domestic use were subject to inland duties'[14]

Further, the various measures adopted to subserve the needs of the rising British industries disastrously affected a number of other Indian industries also

The Indian shipping industry was disastrously affected by the decision of the Court of Directors to use only British ships and prohibit Indian ships for the purpose of trade There were also other reasons for its crippling[15]

The Indian paper industry also was undermined during this period due to the policy of the British rulers to purchase only British-made paper for use in India The order passed by Sir Charles Wood which made it obligatory for the British government in India to use only British-made paper deprived the Indian paper industry of its greatest patron

Regarding the ruination of another important industry, Gadgil remarks 'In one peculiar case, British rule effectively killed a handicraft This was the damascening and inlaying of arms, weapons and shields, which . was common all along the north-west portions of India—in Cutch, in Sindh, in the Punjab By removing the necessity for, and by an active prohibition of, the use and possession of arms, the British succeeded in reducing this industry to the state of being confined to produce ornamental knick-knacks for European tourists and others'[16]

The iron smelting industries were also seriously undermined The principal reasons which accomplished their ruin were the elimination or decline of the Indian states, the chief customer of these industries, the prohibitory duties imposed on the import of their products into England by the British government and the preference of British iron products by the new government required for its purposes.

Further, 'An unwise tariff and the discovery of Chili nitrates gave a serious shock to the saltpetre industry; the iron smelting industry was suffering from the great rise in the price of charcoal due to the reservation of forests and the extension of railways—and the competition of imported pig iron'[17]

Thus, industry after industry began to collapse during

this period on account of a series of measures adopted by the foreign government to suit the requirements of the British industries

B D Basu enumerates the principal among these measures as follows·

'From the time England acquired political power in India, she destroyed Indian industries principally by means of.

(1) The forcing of British Free Trade on India
(2) Imposing heavy duties on Indian manufactures in England
(3) The export of raw products from India
(4) The transit and Customs duties
(5) Granting special privileges to the British in India
(6) Building railways in India
(7) Compelling Indian artisans to divulge their trade secrets
(8) Holding of exhibitions'[18]

Another factor which affected the handicrafts in India was the attitude of the new wealthy classes which evolved on the basis of the establishment of the British rule in India.

'The next class which was the natural successor to the position of the nobles was the newly created educated class This was mostly an urban and professional class, somewhat corresponding to the professional section of the "bourgeoisie" of the west This new class might have been expected to patronize the handicrafts Indeed, with a few exceptions, they entirely turned their back on indigenous arts One of the most harmful effects of a foreign rule is the imposition on the conquered peoples of the ideals of the conquerors, and the newly created Indian "bourgeoisie" showed itself during the latter half of the last century extremely ready to accept European standards and to pour scorn on everything Indian To follow European fashions was considered the hall-mark of enlightenment Consequently the products of indigenous industries suffered It was perhaps natural for this class to act as it did, it was itself entirely a product of British rule But, in a number of cases, their tastes were almost forcibly fixed for them by some stupid rule or convention of European officials or by the fear of incurring their displeasure'[19]

Thus deprived of foreign markets, deprived of home markets in the form of states, nobility, and wealthy strata of society, also hampered by the conscious and unconscious acts of the foreign government which replaced the old states, and discouraged, and even often repudiated by the new wealthy classes which replaced the old nobility and wealthy

urban classes of the old states, the handicraft industries declined and almost collapsed By the middle of the nineteenth century, the handicraft industries had been almost ruined The railways, which began to develop in the forties, enabled the British manufactured goods to penetrate to the remotest corners of the land thereby establishing the permanent dominance of British goods in the Indian market

Such was the tragic fate of the highly organized handicraft industries of India which had existed and thrived for centuries, which had spread the fame of India throughout the world, which had evoked the admiration and jealousy of other peoples from ancient times, from the Egyptians, the Persians, the Chinese, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, and the Europeans, which had made India known as 'Gorgeous Ind' for epoches Today they exist in the form of a relic of the past, a specimen of curiosity, mostly in the museum Their memory has mainly survived in the counterfeit copies which are still produced in some places like Agra, Benares, Ahmedabad, Surat, or some cities in Rajputana, by the descendants of the old handicraftsmen, who, finding no other source of employment, stick to their old trades, eking out their existence from day to day generally working under horrible sweating conditions in karkhanas owned by small capitalists The decline of the handicraft industry was nearly complete by 1880

As D R Gadgil puts it. 'India in the eighties afforded the spectacle of a huge country with decaying handicrafts, with any other form of organized industry almost non-existent and a consequent falling back upon the land '[20]

This is the history of the decline and decay of Indian handicrafts under the British rule. These handicrafts, once the pride and glory of India, could not withstand the pressure of political and above all historico-economic forces and succumbed to this pressure

Decline of Indian Town Handicrafts

In England and other capitalist European countries, handicraft industries began to lose ground with the rise of modern manufacture and machine-based industry By the law of economic selection, the latter methods of production progres-

sively ousted the former due to the working of the most fundamental law of economics, namely, that the industrial technique, which is more labour-saving, finally routs that which is less labour-saving since its products are cheaper than those of the latter Thus handicrafts, all over the world, gave way to the rising tide of modern industry.

In England and other European countries, however, there were indigenous modern industries which vanquished and crushed indigenous handicrafts The ruined mass of handicraftsmen was, on the whole, absorbed in the new indigenous modern industries

In India, the decline and decay of native handicrafts was not accomplished by any rise of indigenous manufacture or machine industry The political pressure of a foreign government together with the influx of the cheap products of foreign machine industry were the principal causes of this decline and decay

Since the ruin of the Indian handicrafts was brought about by foreign industries and not by any indigenous industries, the mass of economically ruined handicraftsmen had no new industrial means of livelihood Even after 1850, when modern industries steadily grew in India, they could not grow with sufficient rapidity so as to incorporate the ever increasing number of ruined handicraftsmen The result was that while a fraction of the latter was absorbed in the new industries, by far the larger proportion of it took to the land as a means of livelihood They became farmers, tenants, but mostly land labourers[21] There was also a diminishing section of these handicraftsmen who desperately stuck to their fast decaying industries and strove to eke out a precarious existence from them In the conditions of dependence on the market for the disposal of their products, they fell more and more into the economic grip of the merchant class whose exploitation of them ever grew in intensity

The destruction of urban handicrafts, without the parallel growth of substitute modern industries, led to the disequilibrium of industry and agriculture in India. It brought about an overpressure on agriculture which was both disastrous for the economic condition of those living on the land as also for the efficiency of agriculture The general economic policy of Britain, while it accomplished the destruction of the old

handicrafts of India, did not aid the free development of modern industries in the country lest these industries should menace the British industries in the market This mainly brought about the lack of balance between the agricultural and industrial parts of Indian economy (See Chapter VII 'Rise of Modern Industries'). The second reason why Britain desired and strove to keep India predominantly agrarian was that it required the cheap agricultural raw materials of India for her industries This made India, mainly, a colonial agrarian appendage of Britain

While recognizing the high degree of development of the Indian handicrafts, we should not loose sight of their limitations First, these urban handicrafts produced articles which primarily catered for the luxurious tastes of a limited aristocratic and wealthy mercantile stratum of medieval society or the military needs of the state or the specific requirements of ecclesiastical groups and institutions or pilgrims periodically visiting religious centres The urban handicrafts did not produce to meet the primary daily needs of the common people This significant fact restricted the volume of their production as well as their market [22] Even when it exported their costly products to foreign countries, it was mainly the wealthy layers of society in foreign lands which were their customers This limitation of markets was a fetter on extensive development of the urban industries, which was possible only if industries produced primarily for the daily needs of the common people. Further, the industrial economic unification of a country could take place only when industries produced goods on a mass scale for the elementary needs of the common people

The primary daily needs of the overwhelming portion of the Indian people distributed in numerous self-sufficient village centres were met by mainly locally produced and locally consumed products of village artisan industries In towns, artisan industries producing on a vast scale to meet the basic economic requirements of the people as a whole, the country was not economically integrated Every village was almost an independent producing and consuming centre Exchange in articles of daily and primary use was not much developed

Historical Significance of Decline

The decline and decay of the urban handicrafts and the capture of their market by the cheap products of modern foreign and subsequently also Indian industries, along with the crippling of the village artisan industry, steadily transformed India into an industrial market for these goods The exchange spread from village to village, between villages and towns, between India as a whole and the outside world and was not merely restricted to the class of luxury goods or goods of military importance but extended to articles of daily human consumption. Exhange relations enveloped and permeated the entire Indian society. This contributed to the economic unification of India.

It is true that the destruction of urban handicrafts involved untold misery for the operators of these industries, specially because no parallel and sufficient industrial development took place in India itself which could provide work for the ruined handicraftsmen It is true that this caused a suffocating over-pressure on India's agriculture resulting in the steady impoverishment of the rural population But while feeling sad about these agonies of the people and the ruin of old industries, we should recognize the vital historical fact that the destruction of the pre-capitalist urban handicrafts and the village artisan industry of India brought about by the forces of modern industries and trade, made way for the transformation of India into a single economic whole It objectively unified the entire people — and not a section — within the web of a system of exchange relations It thus contributed to the building of the material basis for the growth of a common and joint economic existence for the Indian people, for the economic integration of the Indian people into a nation.

The mass of ruined handicraftsmen, in part, took to modern Indian industries, and became factory and transport workers, but, in the absence of sufficient growth of these industries, in the main, took to agriculture and became tenants or land labourers They had rarely sufficient capital to purchase land and become free peasant proprietors Thus the class of Indian handicraftsmen, a class based on medieval handicrafts, steadily dissolved itself into and increased the

class of the modern proletariat, of tenants and land labourers. They became integral parts of the new classes in India which arose on the basis of the new capitalist economic relations which developed in India during the British rule They became a part of the capitalist socio-economic structure of Indian society however insufficiently developed. They became parts of the new classes which were nationally unified and had to confront problems which transcended a mere town but were national in scope The new class of land labourers or industrial workers or tenants or peasant proprietors had a community of interests and common problems which could not exist among Indian handicraftsmen in pre-British India. The ruined handicraftsmen now achieved the status of being members of classes which were component parts of the Indian nation and existed as national units with common interests and problems This was a distinct historical advance

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CHAPTER VI

DECLINE OF VILLAGE ARTISAN INDUSTRIES

Pre-British Village Artisan Industries

As seen in a former chapter, village artisan industries constituted the industrial part of the balanced and predominantly self-sufficient village economy of the pre-British village providing almost all its industrial requirements It was the industrial pillar of the economic autarchy of the village, the other pillar being the self-sufficient village agriculture Further, the division of labour had not reached an advanced stage as is seen from the fact that most of the artisans were part-time cultivators, cultivating the patch of land assigned to them by the village just as the cultivators—especially their women-folk—spent some time in industrial activity such as spinning.[1]

A particular feature of the village economic relations was that the artisans (except perhaps the weaver) had more the status of the servants of the village community which assigned them a part of the village land and a portion of the annual agricultural produce, than that of free producers exchanging their products and services among themselves or with cultivators [2]

Within the artisan industry itself, there was very limited division of labour and very little specialization, thus keeping the artisan's technical skill at a low level External competition also was absent since the village was almost an independent economic unit. This not only led to the absence of incentive to the artisan to improve technique and skill but also prevented the growth of localization of industry in India [3]

Causes of Their Decline

The influx of cheap British and non-British machine-made goods into India was the fundamental cause of the decline of village artisan industry. The introduction of railways and, later of buses, made it easy for goods to reach the villages 'The railways and steamships have made it possible for European power manufacturers to offer the Indian farmers much better terms than the Indian village craftsmen could give Self-sufficing local economy has been displaced by international specialization and trade, much to the discomfiture of the Indian craftsman '[4]

The steady growth of modern industries in India itself, during the second half of the nineteenth century and thereafter, accelerated this decline. A brief survey of the process of this decline is made next

Their Decline, an Uneven Process

The process of the decline of village handicrafts, though universal, was, due to social, economic and local reasons, uneven

The handloom industry in the villages was adversely affected by the influx of cheap machine-made cloth and rapidly declined after 1850 Subsequently the decline was partly though not effectively retarded by propaganda in its favour, by Indian leaders such as Gandhi and organizations like the All-India Spinners' Association. The factories, however, utilized the popularization of the use of khaddar and put into the market mill-made khaddar which obstructed the spread of this type of cloth

"Yet on account of the great relative economy of the factory method, hand spinning has little chance in competition and hand weaving is endangered .. Like the handloom workers in India have suffered greatly from lower prices of factory-made goods, both from abroad and from Indian mills '[5]

The economic position of the village carpenter deteriorated in proportion to the introduction of machinery in rural production. The adoption of such new devices as the iron plough and the iron cane-crushing machine seriously affected him. A section of the ruined carpenters were incorporated in

the furniture making and such other industries which sprang up in the towns.

The new economic environment had, however, a minimum effect on the position of the village blacksmith. The demand for the repair work which he performed in the village did not diminish to any tangible extent A section of the village blacksmiths, however, migrated to the towns and was employed in modern engineering workshops, in iron foundries and such other enterprises[6]

The village tanner was, perhaps, the worst sufferer from the economic transformation of the countryside In the pre-British period, he got carcasses of animals gratis from his fellow villagers. After India was linked with the world market and tanning industries developed in India, the owners of dead animals found it very profitable to sell the hides to the representatives of these industries, Indian and foreign.[7] While the new town tanning industries absorbed a small section of the ruined village tanners, a big proportion of them were constrained to be land labourers.

The import of cheap aniline dyes seriously affected the village dyeing industry and almost ruined the village dyer By the end of the ninenteenth century, this village artisan industry was irretrievably damaged.[8]

The increasing substitution of kerosene in place of oil for lighting purposes by the villagers seriously affected the village oilman The growth of the oil-pressing industries in towns which produced oil for culinary purposes, however, had no tangible effect on his trade

The increased use of enamelled ware imported from foreign countries and metal ware produced by the growing brass and such other industries in India, by the upper strata of the village population, contracted the demand for the goods produced by the village potter However, since the poor strata of the village continued mainly to use earthenware, he was not quite ruined[9] Since an economically stranded village potter could not be incorporated into any urban industry, generally he became an agricultural worker

The various famines which broke out also contributed to the decline of village artisan industries. During the period of famine, poor artisans, specially weavers, were constrained to seek relief by taking to other forms of work While black-

miths or carpenters could sometimes get work, artisans like weavers had to resort to manual labour It was often difficult for them to rehabilitate their craft skill after the crisis was over. 'In the absence of extraneous aid, many weavers are obliged under the stress of the famine to fall off from their own trade; of these a considerable number never return to it, but sink into and swell the ranks of ordinary labourers '[10]

Some of the artisan industries persisted due to the proverty of the rural population For instance, the village potter still commanded customers because the major portion of the population was too poor to buy metal or enamelled ware and big pottery industry existed in the country.

The tendency of all village industries was, however, towards decline

Surviving Village Artisans, Their Changed Status

There arose a special difference in the conditions in which the village artisans now worked and in those in which they formerly worked While formerly they were almost servants of the village community getting for their services and goods free land and a fixed amount of grain at the harvest time, now predominantly, though not exclusively, they worked on a cash basis and had independent economic relations with the members of the village The transition from the old to the new method had been slow and not always completed Still 'the point to be emphasized is that almost everywhere the tendency was for the regular income of the artisan from the dues and the perquisites, etc. to diminish steadily in importance '[11]

Another aspect of the change in the status of the artisan was that he was increasingly transformed into a wage worker. For instance, in earlier periods, the village weavers supplied the needs of the village people They did not produce for the market Under the new conditions, the weaver became more and more dependent upon the merchant for the sale of his products in the local or distant market Further, competition made more capital necessary than the weaver possessed This resulted in the weaver coming steadily into the grip of the merchant 'Often the worker is still technically independent and supposedly buys yarn

and sells cloth, usually he is bound to deal with only one merchant to whom he is heavily in debt'[12] Thus like the cultivators, the artisans increasingly became subjected to merchant capital

The decline of village artisan industries and urban handicrafts in India was not accomplished by the simultaneous, parallel and proportionate expansion of modern industries in India The causes of this have been mentioned in the chapter dealing with the growth of these industries.

Due to this insufficient development of modern industries, surviving village handicrafts, even in the extant state of progressive ruination, played an important role in meeting the needs of the rural population concentrated in the legion of villages in the country ' even today, the large bulk of the industrial population of India is formed of country artisans'[13]

Abortive Attempts at their Reconstruction

Various attempts were made to stem the tide of the progressive dissolution of the village artisan industries, even to restore them to their former strength and status The most important and spectacular attempts to rehabilitate those industries were those of the Indian National Congress and Gandhi. The All-India Spinners' organization started by Gandhi had for its object the resuscitation of the village handloom industry The All-India Village Industries Association organized by the same leader had for its aim the revival, in a modified form, of all cottage industries

These attempts did not, however, yield any appreciable results The protagonists had more to rely on the patriotic and humanitarian sentiments of the people than on arguments of the economic superiority and advantages of village industries. For instance, regarding non-mill khaddar, Gandhi exhorted the people 'to wear khadi even though it may not be so soft and elegant in appearance as foreign fineries, nor as cheap.'[14] Mahatma Gandhi, with all his personal influence and even with big financial resources which were incidentally collected, in the main, from the Indian industrialists and came from the profits of the very modern industries in India whose growth had contributed to the ruin of

the village industries, was unsuccessful in restoring these industries to any tangible extent. The fundamental cause of the failure of those attempts was that they worked against the forward march of history, against the forces of economic evolution

The All-India Village Industries Association was organized on the initiative of Gandhi with the declared object of emancipating the village from dependence on machine goods, or reviving dead or dying pre-capitalist artisan industries This programme of economic retrogression ignored the fundamental fact of history and life. It wanted to go against the inexorable fundamental laws which govern social existence It strove to revive technique and economic forms which had been superseded by more advanced techniques and economic forms in historical development

The pre-capitalist artisan industries, which this programme sought to revive, declined mainly due to the unequal struggle against the modern machine-based industries The historical strength of the machine industries lay in the fact that its products were cheaper than those of the handicrafts In a society, based on exchange of products, only those forms of production are selected in the economic struggle which satisfy human wants with minimum labour In a society based on the market, cheaper products will always prevail and oust the costly ones It was due to the action of the iron law of economic selection that artisan industry declined and machine-based industry came to stay

It is not possible to revive an economic system undermined in the normal course of historical development In historical progression, pre-capitalist handicrafts were increasingly superseded by modern industries. The attempts of leaders like Gandhi to revive the artisan industries based on a backward technique and the resultant lower productivity of labour were unhistorical and therefore not likely to succeed

The almost ineffectual episode revival of some of the village industries such as hand spinning, handloom and some crafts, had been due to a number of factors. 'For given the hopeless existing agricultural disorganization, which condemns an overcrowded population on the land to forms of labour that are estimated to leave the equivalent of half

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the working year unoccupied, and given the absence of industrial development, the promotion of hand spinning, the handloom and craft industries is . . . a temporary palliative '[15]

This partial and extremely limited alleviative economic measure, however, was 'based on acceptance of the worst evils of the existing distortion and cramping of Indian economy and is directed to adaptation of these evils instead of to changing them' 'Economically, there is no future for an artificially attempted revival of hand industry in a capitalist world. The khadi or hand-made cloth cannot compete in prices with the mill-made cloth, and is therefore beyond the reach of the poorest'[16] In fact, the artificial revival, very limited and only episodic, was brought about with the aid of a group of industrialists like Birla and Bajaj who financed this revival* and a section of the upper classes who made deliberately economic sacrifices by purchasing the products of these industries believing that their sacrifice would reanimate the moribund handicrafts, would hit the British economically and liquidate the poverty of the Indian masses This hope could not materialize since the programme clashed with historical and economic forces as well as psychological factors Even Gandhi, once the uncompromising opponent of modern industries, modified his view in the light of the failure of his programme and came to accept a conditional and limited mechanization of production

Decline of Village Industries, its Consequences

The progressive ruination of the village industries disrupted the unity of agriculture and industry on which the

* Some of the Left nationalist and socialist groups considered the financial support given by Indian mill magnates and landlords to the khaddar and cottage industries movements as an astute manoeuvre It was to divert the economic discontent of the agrarian population from finding expression in struggles against landlords, merchants and money-lenders who exploited it. The rich patrons thereby tried to decoy the rural masses into concentrating on programmes of fictitious solutions of their poverty which was, in reality, due to exorbitant rents, debts, land tax, and such other causes In India the industrialists had close economic affiliation with the zamindars and the rural merchant and money-lending classes

village economy was based It made the village dependent for industrial goods on the outside world The village no longer remained the almost autonomous economic unit it once was It became a dependent part of the national and even world economy

The introduction of capitalist land relations and new land laws such as making the individual peasant the unit of land revenue collection was not sufficient to break up the economic autarchy of the village. The undermining of its industrial pillar, the village artisan industries, was also necessary. The combined action of both these factors dealt a serious blow to the self-sufficient village

The progressive ruination of the artisans drove larger and larger numbers of them to abandon their crafts which they had plied for generations A section gravitated to cities and became factory or workshop employees or joined oil, sugar, tanning, furniture making and such industries A section with some means bought land in the village and became peasant proprietors Those without means became land labourers or even paupers This resulted in overpressure on agriculture

'The millions of ruined artisans and craftsmen, spinners, weavers, potters, tanners, smelters, smiths, alike from the town and from the villages, had no alternative save to crowd into agriculture. In this way India was . . transformed, from being a country of combined agriculture and manufacturers, into an agricultural colony of British manufacturing capitalism'[17] This was due to the fat that modern industries which could incorporate the ruined artisans did not develop at the same rate at which the handicrafts were ruined. A section of the ruined artisans sent their sons to schools who, after receiving a limited education, became teachers or clerks.

Nevertheless, as already mentioned, due to slow industrial expansion in India, the village artisan population in spite of its diminishing number formed a very large proportion of the total industrial population of the country

The self-sufficient village was an obstacle to the growth of national consciousness and the development of a common national life The progressive dissolution of the village artisan industries by undermining the economic foundations of

the autarchic village paved the way for this consummation

'Sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious, patriarchical and inoffensive social organizations disorganized and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time . their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village communities had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies '[18]

Historically, the self-sufficient village economy had to be a casualty before the single national economy of the Indian people could come into being Similarly, the self-sufficient, almost closed existence of the village community had to be shattered before the entire Indian people could be welded into a nation and live a common and historically higher social, political, economic and cultural existence

The artisans who left their village and became city workers, became members of the working class which, transcending all local and provincial limitations, began to organize on national lines The ex-artisans developed wider consciousness of being members of the Indian working class They developed a national outlook also

Even those sections of the ruined artisans, who bought land and became peasants or who, due to lack of means, became land labourers, developed a different and wider consciousness. Under the new conditions created by the transformation of Indian agriculture, they were not members of an economically self-sufficient village community but formed, economically, classes which were integral parts of the Indian nation. Now living under the same system of land laws, the interests of all peasants or land labourers throughout India became more or less identical The recognition of this stimulated a wider class and national consciousness among them and prompted them, in course of time, to build up or join such organizations as the All-India Kisan Sabha and others

Even the artisans who still survived, were different from those in the pre-British period While the latter were almost village servants catering mainly to the village needs, the for-

mer produced for the market As such, they were affected by the movement of world prices and other forces Hence, they organized themselves for economic self-defence on a national basis, building such organizations as the All-India Spinners' Association. Thus the village artisan developed a wider outlook and knowledge He showed more initiative and individuality than the artisan of the self-sufficient village

These were the principal historically progressive consequences of the destruction of the self-sufficient village to which the decline of village handicrafts contributed

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CHAPTER VII

RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN INDIAN INDUSTRIES

Development of Modern Industries in India

THE establishment of modern machine-based industries in India during the period of the British rule played a significant role in the consolidation of the national economy of the country. It also generated social forces which gave impetus to the growth of Indian nationalism and the nationalist movment It is true that the industrial development of India was insufficient and lop-sided due to a number of reasons Still, this industrial development created powerful social forces which helped national advance To mention only the most important among them, the growth of modern industries brought into existence modern industrial cities which became the theatres of intense social, political, and cultural life and prime sources from which all progressive movements generally emanated Further, the growth of modern industries led to the emergence of such new social groups as the class of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat, two basic classes whose specific weight in the movement of contemporary society was found great, even decisive

The bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the basic classes of the modern capitalist society. As capitalist economy based on competition and commodity production develops, the intermediate classes of small producers such as artisans, and others, being unable to compete with powerful industrial rivals in the market, are ruined and increasingly fall into the ranks of the workers In the countryside, too, the intermediate stratum of peasant proprietors, due to progressive impoverishment in the circumstances of capital economic

environment, increasingly lose land to usurers and merchants and other capitalists and a good proportion of them become landless labourers or agricultural proletariat

Thus while the intermediate social groups are unstable and dissolving social categories, the proletariat remains a stable and increasing class. The conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is, therefore, the basic conflict in capitalist society, providing movement to it In this class struggle, the working class sets to itself the goal of socialism, a social system based not on wage labour and private property in means of production as in the capitalist system, but on social ownership of those means and free co-operative labour of all workers

The Indian working class, while striving for national independence, considered independence only as a milestone on the road to its socialist liberation

Brief History of their Development

We will now take a survey of the rise and expansion of these industries in India under the British rule, the extent and the nature of their development, and their organizational structure.

The establishment of railways in India, during the middle of the nineteenth century, created a condition for the growth of modern industries in India One of the main motives in constructing railways in India was outlined by Lord Dalhousie in his famous Minute on Railways thus:

'The commercial and social advantages which India would derive from their establishments are beyond all present calculation England is calling aloud for the cotton which India does already produce in some degree, and would produce sufficient in quality, and plentiful in quantity, if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from distant plains to the several ports adopted for its shipment Every increase of facilities for trade has been attended, as we have seen, with an increased demand for articles of European produce in the most distant markets of India New markets are opening to us on this side of the globe under circumstances which defy the foresight of the wisest to estimate their probable value or calculate their future extent '[1]

Thus the construction of railways in India was primarily undertaken to meet the raw material and market require-

ments of the British industries Their construction also gave scope for the investment of British capital and sale of the products of the growing engineering industry of Britain in India

The establishment of railways and the accumulation of sufficient savings in the hands of the Indian merchant class to serve as basic capital, made possible the creation of the Indian-owned modern industries in India

Regarding the role of railways in this development, Karl Marx wrote

'When you have once introduced machinery into the locomotion of a country, which possesses iron and coals, you are unable to withhold it from its fabrication You cannot maintain a net of railways over an immense country without introducing all those industrial processes necessary to meet the immediate and current wants of railway locomotion, and out of which there must grow the application of machinery to those branches of industry not immediately connected with the railways The railway system will therefore become in India truly the forerunner of modern industry '[2]

The British were the pioneers in establishing modern industries in India such as plantation industries like indigo, tea and coffee, by the middle of the nineteenth century.

It was between 1850 and 1855 that the first cotton mill, a few jute mills and coal mines were started In 1879, there were 56 cotton mills in India The number of jute mills, mainly owned by the Europeans, rose to 20 in 1882 In 1880, 56 coal mines were working in the country These were the only three principal modern industries in 1880 in India

Between 1880 and 1895, though no important new industries were established, the old industries registered an appreciable advance The extension of the cotton mill industry was particularly striking, the number of cotton mills increasing to 144 in 1894-95. The number of jute mills rose to 29 and that of coal mines to 123 in the same year [3]

Nationalist economists like Ranade were impressed with the steady expansion of the Indian industries during this period and visualized a great industrial future for the Indian nation Ranade remarked 'India has now fairly entered upon the path which, if pursued in the same spirit which has animated its capitalists hitherto, cannot fail to work its industrial salvation '[4]

Between 1895 and 1905, the rate of growth of the Indian industries, especially the cotton industry, slowed down This was mainly due to the serious deterioration of the economic condition of the agrarian population as a result of two disastrous famines and, further, due to American speculation in cotton in 1902 which led to the shooting up of the prices of cotton, thereby adversely affecting the Indian mill industry. The Indian industries, however, in spite of these unfavourable factors, made progress during these years though at a retarded rate

The Swadeshi movement which was started principally by the Indian National Congress in 1905 gave a momentum to the expansion of the Indian industries In 1913-14, the number of cotton mills rose to 264 and that of jute mills to 64 The coal mining industry which had been developing uninterruptedly was employing 151,376 workers in 1914. The growth of this industry was mainly due to the extension of communications and expansion of the mill industry

Between 1890 and 1914, new industries like those of petroleum, manganese, mica and saltpetre, came into existence Some rice and timber mills were also started In addition, 'Engineering and railway workshops, iron and brass foundries, also grew rapidly '[5]

D H Buchanan describes the industrial expansion between 1890 and 1914 thus.

'The growth from 1890 until the World War was fairly steady in all fields. Cotton spindles more than doubled, cotton power looms quadrupled, jute looms increased four and a half times and coal raisings, six times. '[6]

In spite of this steady advance, the level of Indian industrial development was low in 1914 Progress was achieved primarily in the cotton and the jute industries only Heavy industries were absent 'Engineering was only represented by repair workshops, chiefly for the railways, the barest beginning with iron and steel was just being made on the eve of the 1914 war; there was no production of machinery '[7]

There were a number of reasons why the industrial development of India did not proceed at a greater rate Young Indian industries required, for rapid growth, protection, aid-

ing them thereby to compete successfully with the powerful, well established industries of countries like Britain, Germany and others The Indian government did not grant such protection. Neither did it concretely help the Indian industries. British publicists also recognized this as one of the main reasons thwarting the rapid industrial advance of India

'Our record in regard to Indian industrial development has not always been a very creditable one in the past, and it was only under the pressure of war necessities that Government was driven to abandon its former attitude of aloofness if not jealousy towards purely Indian enterprise'[8]

The pressure brought on the Indian government of the British economic interests was declared to be a reason for this omission to aid the Indian industries, in the Government Annual Report of 1921 It stated. 'Some time prior to the war certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies were effectively discouraged from Whitehall'[9]

Another handicap to rapid industrial development was insufficient cadres of technicians The provision for technical education was meagre

'The question of technical and industrial education has been before the Government and the public for over twenty years There is probably no subject on which more has been written or said, while less has been accomplished'[10]

There were a number of other factors which explained the insufficient and lop-sided development of the Indian industries. We will enumerate them at the end of the survey of industrial development.

During the war of 1914-18, due to a considerable decline in the import of foreign goods and, further, due to war requirements, Indian industries developed further The government declared industrialization as its active policy Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, explained it thus in 1915:

'It is becoming increasingly clear that a definite and self-conscious policy of improving the industrial capabilities of India will have to be pursued after the war, unless she is to become the dumping ground for the manufacture of foreign nations who will be competing the more

keenly for markets, the more it becomes apparent that the political future of the larger nations depends on their economic position. The attitude of the Indian public towards this question is unanimous, and cannot be left out of account

'After the war India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford, to enable her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country '[11]

In pursuance of this aim, the Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report published in 1918 stated.

'On all grounds, a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people

'Both on economic and military grounds Imperial interests also demand that the natural resources of India should henceforth be better utilized We cannot measure the access of strength which an industrialized India will bring to the power of the Empire '[12]

Cotton and jute industries expanded during the war, as a result of the almost complete absence of foreign competition The production of steel rose 91,000 tons in 1913 to 124,000 tons in 1918

The rapid industrial development of a country requires as a premise the presence of the basic heavy (metallurgical and machine-producing) industry in that country The practical absence of such an industry in India set a limit to its industrial expansion in war-time.

'The absence of basic engineering and heavy chemical industries was the weakest spot in India's industrial system '[13] During the war, the Indian industries did not expand as they otherwise would have due to the fact that there were no well-established industries in the country producing machinery, chemicals, dyes and other articles necessary for industries. The iron and steel industry founded by J N Tata in 1911 only partially met the requirements of the Indian industries

There were other reasons also for the insufficient expansion of Indian industries during the war when, due to the diversion of shipping mainly to war needs, the imports of articles from outside had considerably declined Lokanathan enumerates them as follows.

'Apart from the lack of indigenous capital, of industrial leadership and technical skill, there were also some serious gaps in the supplies of raw materials and resources required for production The supplies of sulphur, copper, zinc, lead and rubber were inadequate Although large quantities of coal were available, they were not evenly distributed being concentrated in Bengal and Bihar, where 90 per cent of the total output was produced Further, the peculiar type of industrial leadership which India developed, popularly known as the Managing Agency system, had the blighting effect of removing from the Managing Agents all incentive to risk money on new and possibly unsafe ventures when, as importers of machinery and mill stores and as traders and insurance agents, they could earn liberal commissions Above all, a **laissez-faire** policy was quite inadequate for a poor country like India, which can only be developed under a well-conceived Government plan .

'Thus the last war, beyond affording temporary gains to a few established industries, did nothing to set the country firmly on the road to industrialization '[14]

The Report of the Industrial Commission embodied a number of recommendations, the most essential being that the government should actively interest itself in the industrial development of the country and aid it by adopting various measures such as equipping itself with an adequate scientific and technical staff, which would guide the industrialists in efficiently developing the existing and creating important new industries in the country and others The most essential of these recommendations, however, remained unfulfilled [15]

The Reforms Act of 1919 transformed industry into a Provincial Subject but the provinces were technically and financially too weak to assist any appreciable industrial expansion. Regarding it, D H Buchanan remarked thus

' With the constitutional reforms of 1919, the provincial organization (of industry) was made one of the "transferred subjects" and thus put in the hands of the local governments responsible to elected legislatures Unfortunately also, since the funds available have been wholly inadequate, no very important policies could be initiated Furthermore, the encouragement of industry requires a far-reaching unified government policy concerning not only raw materials and methods of production, but markets as well It is doubtful whether the mere provincial offices set up in India will have any considerable effect '[16]

The recommendation of the Fiscal Commission in 1922

advising the government to inaugurate a policy of 'discriminating protection' was implemented by the latter in 1923 As a result of the new policy, a Tariff Board was established in 1923 In 1924, the young Tata Iron and Steel Industry received a government subsidy and also protection at the rate of 33½ per cent In addition to this industry, other industries like cotton, match, sugar and a few others were also given protection to varying extent.

To assist industrial development a Central Bureau of Industrial Intelligence and Research was subsequently established.

These measures, however, did not lead to the creation of the vital prerequisite for a free, rapid and substantial expansion of Indian industry, namely the development of heavy industries M Visvesvaraya in his book, *Planned Economy for India* (1936), wrote 'Heavy industries, the greatest need of the day, have been left severely alone.'[17]

The subsidy granted to the Tata Iron and Steel Industry was withdrawn in 1927

From 1927 onwards, the Indian tariff system was governed by the principle of Imperial Preference which worked mainly to the benefit of the British products 'over both non-Empire and Indian production in the Indian market'[18] The Ottawa Agreements which were reached in 1932, were based on the principle of Imperial Preference There was a storm of protest from the Indians against them. But they became operative in spite of this Kate Mitchell comments 'In this way the tariff system of the early twenties, originally proclaimed as a means for accelerating Indian industrialization, was transformed into a system which assisted British industry, to compete in the Indian market, while giving India in return the privilege of favoured rates for the sale of her raw materials and semi-manufactures in the British market an obvious attempt to revert to the pre-1914 status'[19]

The economic depression of 1929-33 hit the Indian peasantry very hard. They had to draw on whatever gold reserves they possessed[20] There was a further loss of the gold reserves of the Indian masses during 1936 and 1937, diminishing thereby their purchasing power for industrial goods This had an inevitable adverse effect on industrial expansion

Regarding this drain, Kate-Mitchell remarked, 'This gold

drain from the past savings of the masses of the Indian peasantry meant a still further impoverishment of the Indian market and a corresponding depression of Indian industry.'[21]

In spite of these difficulties, modern industries steadily developed during the years between the two wars. The following statistics reveal the progress made in some principal industries during this period:

		1922-3	1938-9
Cement	Tons	193,000	1,170,000
Coal	Million tons	19	28 3
Cotton piecegoods	Million yards	1,713 5	4,269 3
Jute	Million yards	1,187 5	1,774
Matches	Gross Boxes (1934-5)	16,500,000	21,100,000
Paper	Tons	23,576	59,198
Pig iron	Tons	455,000	1,575,500
Sugar	Tons	84,000	1,040,048
Sulphuric acid	Cwt	529,637	607,000
Steel ingots	Tons	131,000	977,400

(Refer Wadia and Merchant, pp 285-6)

Due to the expansion of the industries producing consumers' goods, the import of such goods from foreign countries into India declined 'There has been an increasing tendency for imports of goods of general consumption to diminish in relative importance These declined from 37 per cent in 1926-7 to 20 per cent in 1938-9. . . The imports of raw materials (such as textile materials, dyes, colours and paints) have shown a great increase From 16 per cent of the total imports in 1922-3 they increased to 24 per cent in 1938-9. The imports of machinery and other capital goods which formed 19 per cent of the total imports in 1926-7 constituted 25 per cent in 1938-9 '[22]

This increasing independence of the Indian people from foreign countries regarding consumers' goods, and increasing dependence on them for capital goods, before the outbreak of World War II, was described by Wadia and Merchant thus:

'The economic situation before the outbreak of the present war may be summed up as follows so far as industrial development is concerned The expansion of the protected industries has not meant a very considerable addition to the total national income The existence

of these industries and their ability to meet the requirements of the internal market cannot be regarded as giving to the country that degree of self-sufficiency which may relieve it of all anxiety about the future, for, whilst we are independent of foreign countries for the supplies of sugar, cotton goods and for iron and steel, we are still largely dependent on foreign countries for the offtake of a substantial part of our production of raw materials. What is more important is that we are still dependent on foreign countries for the supply of machinery and other capital goods without which the establishment of new industries would be impossible'[23]

In spite of this steady development of modern industries, India, as a whole, was being 'de-industrialized' since the rate of their development lagged behind the rate at which pre-modern indigenous industries were being ruined In 1936, *The Economist, Indian Supplement,* wrote 'The proportion of the population dependent upon industry as a whole has tended to decline. . . . Although India has begun to modernize her industries, it can hardly be said that she is as yet being 'industrialized' '[24]

The Second World War which broke out in 1939 gave a momentum to Indian industrial development The table of statistics on the following page mirrors the expansion achieved

There was hardly any appreciable advance in shipping, aircraft and such other industries

In spite of the wartime situation, there also did not take place any real development of heavy industries, the prime prerequisite for the independent and rapid industrial progress of a country and a barometer of its general economic advance. However, a number of light industries made progress during the period.

	1938-9	1939-40	1940-1	1941-2	1942-3	Average
Iron and steel .	100	110	125	150	200	146
Cotton manufactures	100	94	100	153	92	110
Jute manufactures	100	106	91	103	85	96
Sugarcane factories ..	100	191	168	120	163	160
Paper ..	100	118	149	159	112	134
Electric energy generated ..	100	109	115	135	135	123

(L. C. Jain, *Indian Economy during the War,* p 31)

'The progress registered even during the war has been almost all in the consumers' goods industries to the sad and striking neglect of production of capital goods industries Cotton, sugar, paper, cement and even leather have all expanded, while the basic industries for the production of machine tools, automobiles, railway engines, ships and aeroplanes have been left out'[25] And further, '. . . such industrial progress as has taken place in the country due to war is somewhat artificial and temporary in character rather than real and permanent'[26]

'On the whole, there is substantial evidence for the view that Indian industry during the war is falling behind its competitors in its degree of both mechanization and rationalization . The post-war danger in India is industrial collapse, while the post-war need is industrial expansion'[27]

Emergence of Trusts and Monopolies

After this brief sketch of the development of modern industries in India under the British rule we will proceed to describe some of the important characteristics of this development

One of the striking features of economic development in India during this period in the sphere of trade, industry and banking, was the concentration of a big proportion of enterprises in a few hands

'There are (in 1940) nearly 9,000 factories in India giving employment to about 17,00,0000 workmen The capital invested in companies, registered in India, totals up to three thousand million rupees

'A group of Managing Agents control about 500 industrial concerns, with capital of nearly fifteen hundred millions and covering every field of industrial activity This concentration of control is common to all industries.'[28]

This contrasted with the history of the economic development of such countries as England, France, Germany and the U S A where such concentration took place in later stages of their economic growth only[29] In India, on the other hand, concentration took place within a few decades of the establishment of industries

This concentration led to the growth of Trusts on lines

both of horizontal and vertical combination. These Trusts controlled a substantial sector of the economic life of the nation. There were about 40 such Trusts in the country in the year 1940 which controlled about 450 concerns with capital over eleven hundred million rupees These concerns covered industrial and transport as well as financial fields Killick Nixons, Sassoons, Andrew Yule, Bradys and Jardine and Skinner were some of the powerful British Trusts Tatas, Birla and Dalmia were some of the outstanding Indian monopoly organizations

These Trusts controlled economic enterprises of almost all categories. For instance, Tatas controlled twenty-two concerns including 4 cotton mills, 4 electric companies, 4 power companies, 1 iron and steel works, 1 airway company, 1 oil company, 1 insurance company and even a hotel Similarly Andrew Yule & Co which operated in Eastern India, controlled 52 concerns including 11 jute mills, 11 coal mines, 15 tea, 1 paper, 2 rubber, 1 oil and even 1 landed estate[30] These instances give an idea of the extensive activity of those few Trusts in the field of national economy and their control over the economic life of the people.

Further, within the small number of Trusts, the control was concentrated in the hands of a few Directors who commanded key positions The system of interlocutory directorships which was widely prevalent further helped to strengthen the power of these few Directors. About this Asoka Mehta wrote in 1940: 'Five hundred important industrial concerns of our country are managed by 2,000 directors. These directorships are held by 850 individuals. But, 1,000 of these directorships are held by just 70 men.... At the apex of the pyramid stand 10 men holding 300 directorships, the supreme arbiters of the destinies of our industrial economy'[31]

For instance, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas was a director of 51 enterprises of such diverse types as the B E S & T Co, the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co, the Indian Radio and Cable Communications Co., the Reserve Bank of India, a number of presses, a number of textile mills, a number of railway companies, the Tata Hydro-Electric Co. and a number of electric and other companies

Dominance of Finance Capital

Since large masses of capital are necessary for starting the modern types of industries and as it is not possible to mobilize large sums from small investors, the aid of banks and big financial firms becomes indispensable. This resulted in the control of Indian industry by finance capital. India here exhibited the general feature of the economic life of all capitalist countries today, namely, the control of finance capital over almost all branches of economy 'A dozen individuals, by their control over banks, insurance companies and investment trusts, occupy commanding positions in the industrial life of Bombay Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and his cousin Sir Chunilal Mehta, between them hold directorships in every Trust and in well-nigh every important concern in Bombay. They have facilitated or frustrated as it suited them many an amalgamation and absorption. Premchand Brothers, Jeejeebhoy Brothers, Cowasji Jehangirs, in their ways exert similar influence, thanks to their financial power'[32]

Finance capital, both British and Indian, mainly operated through what is known as the managing-agency system 'By this system a relatively small number of managing-agency firms promote, control and to a considerable extent finance the various industrial companies and enterprises, govern their operations and output, and market their products, the boards of directors of the companies fulfilling only a subordinate or even nominal role The cream of the profit passes, not to the shareholders, but to the managing agency'[33]

British Capital, its Stranglehold on Indian Economy

The English managing-agency firms were stronger than the Indian Andrew Yule & Co and Jardine and Skinner were two of the powerful English firms Their superior financial strength and key control of industrial companies helped these firms to establish increasing power over industries, especially during periods of economic difficulty.[34]

Finance capital, both British and Indian, operated through the system of banks also The Reserve Bank of India founded in 1934 and the Imperial Bank of India established in 1920 were the two most powerful banking institutions in the coun-

try A number of Exchange Banks also operated, engaged in the import and export trade of the country, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, the National Bank of India, and the Mercantile Bank of India, being the important ones among them

There was a third group of banks in the country, the Indian Joint-stock Banks in which there was a preponderance of Indian capital

The Imperial Bank and the Exchange Bank were predominantly non-Indian Their combined financial resources were greater than those of the Indian Joint-stock Banks which were mainly under Indian control

The Reserve Bank of India was the strongest banking institution in the country. It had wide powers and was controlled by the Government through the right of appointment of its principal officials such as the Governor, Deputy Governors and a number of Directors of the Bank

A number of Indian nationalist economists and politicians declared that the substantial British domination of Indian banking was one of the decisive obstacles to the rapid as well as free industrial development of India In the matter of financing the Indian-owned industries, both the British-controlled banks and the government pursued policies which were primarily determined from the standpoint of British economic interests and not those of Indian industrial expansion[35]

Thus the predominant control of British finance capital retarded the rapid tempo and free growth of the industrial and general economic development of India. The Indian nationalist movement which stood for a programme of rapid industrial development of the country as a pre-condition for the material, social and cultural advance of the Indian people was consequently very critical of the attitude of British finance capital and the economic policies of the government

The Indian National Congress, the Liberals and other political organizations and groups, who stood for the transformation of India into a highly industrialized country, severely criticized the various economic safeguards provided by the Constitution framed under the Government of India Act of 1935 They stated that the powers given to the Governors of Provinces to overrule the action of Indian Ministers would only perpetuate the existing preponderance and con-

trol of British capital over the Indian economy and prevent the free and rapid industrial and general economic advance of the country

Due to the development of Indian industries as well as the increase in the competitive power of Britain's non-Indian rivals like Germany, Japan and the U S A, Britain's share of the Indian market exhibited steady decline.[36]

'Since 1936 India is no longer Britain's principal customer as it had been for a century past, but fell in 1937 to second place and in 1938 to third place.

This sharp decline, developing most rapidly in the post-1918 period, in Britain's share in the Indian market reflects the collapse in what had been the main field of nineteenth century industrial capitalist exploitation of India—the export of cotton goods

But while the old basis was thus collapsing, the new basis of profits by finance-capitalist exploitation was steadily rising and extending in volume By 1929 the total of British capital investments in India was estimated in the *Financial Times* . at £573 million on the most conservative basis, and more probably £700 million '[37]

The British Associated Chambers of Commerce estimated the figure at £1,000 million for 1933.

One important feature of British and other foreign capital investments in India was that there had been a disproportion between the degree of industrialization and the amount invested. It was due to the fact that a good proportion of foreign capital had been invested in non-industrial economic fields since this was found more profitable Even regarding industries, it found expression in light industries [38]

Reasons for the Lop-sided Growth of Indian Industries

Indigenous capital, already very small, also sought to some extent investment in more profitable non-industrial channels D. R Gadgil remarks 'The smallness of India's capital resources, the competition for these from both agriculture and industry, the high profits to be obtained in moneylending and in commerce, and the particularly high rates that ruled for money accommodation at harvest time, all these combined to prevent a large flow of Indian capital into industry.'[39]

There were a number of reasons why the industrial development of India had been slow, retarded and lop-sided The

Indian industries developed only after powerful industries were established in England, Germany, the U S A and other countries This made it difficult for the former to compete successfully with the latter in the market. Further, the industries of those highly industrialized countries had the active support of their national states In India, on the contrary, the British government, following the principle of free trade, did not grant till 1924 any great degree of protection to Indian industries, which was vitally necessary for them to be able to compete with the giant state-aided industries of other countries. Even when the Tariff Board was established and protective duties initiated, it did not appreciably help Indian industries, since, as mentioned before, the policy of protection was subordinated to the principle of Imperial Preference However, a number of industries producing consumers' goods benefited by the protective measures.

The absence of considerable well-established heavy metallurgical and machine-producing industries in the country was another, and perhaps the most serious handicap for the rapid industrial development of the country

One of the characteristics of a colonial economy which makes it subservient to the interests of imperialist economy is that it does not possess, to a large extent, heavy industries These industries are a vital precondition for free, balanced, and rapid industrial development of a modern society

> "The real change comes in any country when the iron and steel industries begin to be successful The development of the metallurgical industries means the real industrial revolution England, Germany and the United States of America all started their iron and steel industries before they started their textile factories"[40]

Another obstacle to the growth of Indian industries was the immense poverty of the agricultural population which constituted about four-fifths of the Indian people and who represented a formidable potential market for industrial goods. As seen in the chapter dealing with agriculture, a number of factors such as debt, rent and revenue burdens, together with the decling income from agriculture, had brought about serious impoverishment of a great majority of the agrarian population. Indian industries could not appreciably expand unless a radical agrarian reform had been introduced includ-

ing a revision of land relations and productive aid by the state to the farmers to renovate agriculture, thereby increasing the purchasing power of that huge population and enabling them to buy extensively industrial goods

The frequent dependence of Indian industrial development on British finance capital and the resultant penetration and control of Indian industries by British capital, adversely affected that development Financial aid had often been rendered on condition that Indian industrialists purchased industrial plant from British firms and to those industries which did not come in conflict with similar British industries in the market.

Inadequate supply of cadres of technicians due to insufficient institutions imparting technical education was another factor which worked as a handicap to the growth of industry The demand for increased technical education in the interests of industries had been a permanent demand of the Indian nationalist movement since its very birth The Indian National Congress, the Liberals and all other progressive political groups, always included in their programme the item of technical education.

Further, Indian industries had entered the phase of concentration and monopoly The disadvantages of the monopoly form of organization to industrial expansion were, therefore, inherent in the industrial situation in India

Indian Monopolies, their Peculiarities

Monopolies in India were, however, distinguished from monopolies in the highly developed capitalist countries like the U S A., Britain, France, and others in a variety of ways Monopolies in those advanced countries came into existence as climax of a long period of development of capitalist economy on the basis of 'free competition' In India, due to the belated arrival of capitalism, capitalist economic enterprises assumed a monopoly form without any long period and tradition of a non-monopoly phase of indigenous capitalist development Thus, while in countries mentioned above, capitalist monopolies appeared after the development of productive forces and general economic evolution had reached a very high level, in India they emerged even while the productive

forces of the country were insufficiently developed In India, the monopoly form existed in contradiction to the immature state of industrial and other productive forces of Indian society Parasitism and social, polical and economic retrogression, which a monopoly form of capitalist economic organisation implies, was particularly harmful to Indian economic development since it was on a low level *

The second difference between Indian monopolies and those in advanced countries lay in their relation to their respective states While monopolies in the U S A, Britain, France, and such other countries, in general, determined the economic policies, both internal and international, of their governments and received even state support, the Indian-owned monopolies as a rule, did not and could not influence the basic economic policies of or receive appreciable support from the Indian government which, not being a national government, was usually solicitous of safeguarding the British economic interests

A third peculiarity in the position of Indian monopolies lay in the fact that they existed in a predominantly agricultural country inhabited by poverty-stricken rural masses The problem of market was particularly acute for Indian industrial monopolies It was the paradox of Indian capitalist

* The working out of the laws of competition between various enterprises under capitalism gives rise to monopolies, which own and control entire branches of industry, entire industries even, both in the national and international economic spheres Though monopolies emerge, competition does not vanish Now, monopolies compete with one another in the world arena The struggle between these economic giants assumes world-wide and fierce forms sharpening conflicts between capitalist nations and leading to intense economic and military warfare among them

The rise of monopolies indicates an extraordinary development of productive forces and their social character It also indicates the conscious or unconscious recognition of the planning principle by the capitalist owners themselves, without which modern productive forces at their present level of development cannot be freely and fruitfully operated However, under the conditions of capitalist private ownership of the means of production, a comprehensive, harmonious and universal planning of production is not possible Thus, while the highly developed productive forces of the modern epoch provide the indispensable material basis for socialism, socialist economy is the only determined economic form within which these forces can further and freely develop

development that the highest form of capitalist economic organization, the monopoly form, came into existence on the background of an economic environment which primarily consisted of primitive and poor agricultural economy, with semi-feudal and even pre-feudal remnants within it.

Along with private monopolies, there existed in India, as in advanced capitalist countries, state monopoly enterprises. However, there was a basic difference in the role of those state monopolies in India and in other countries In India, state monopoly enterprises like railways were owned by a government which was not a national government and which therefore administered those monopolies usually to suit the interests of British capitalism and not of the free economic advance of the Indian people. Railways were, therefore, kept outside the control of the Central Legislature In free countries like the U S A , Britain and France, when the state took over and owned certain enterprises, the senate or the parliament had complete control over the policies governing the conduct of those enterprises by the state Those policies might be, till the state power rested in the hands of the capitalist class in those countries, in the interest of that class but they did not subserve any foreign interests as in India. The basic economic policy of the Indian government, though modified by the pressure of popular opinion, was moulded neither by the Indian people, nor by the Indian-owned monopolies but by the interests of British finance capital

The currency policy of the government, reflected in measures such as the regulating of exchange ratio unfavourable to Indian interests was also one of the factors which retarded free industrial development.

These were some of the principal obstacles in the way of the rapid all-sided industrial advance of India

India possessed the prerequisites, both human and material, for evolving powerful and prosperous industries which would have made the Indian people rich and an independent industrial national Still, due to these handicaps, she remained predominantly a poor and agrarian community with insufficient industries. Regarding this, D H Buchanan wrote in 1934 as follows:

'Here was a country with all the crude elements upon which manufacturing depends, yet during more than a century it has imported factory-made goods in large quantities and has developed only a few of the simplest industries for which machinery and organization had been highly perfected in other countries With abundant supplies of raw cotton, raw jute, easily mined coal, easily mined and exceptionally high grade iron ore, with a redundant population often starving because of lack of profitable employment, with a hoard of gold and silver and with access through the British government to a money market which was lending large quantities of capital to the entire world, with an opening under their own flag for British business leaders who were developing both at home and in numerous new countries, all sorts of capitalistic industries, with an excellent market within her own borders , with all these advantages, India, after a century, was supporting only about two per cent of her population by factory industry The country remains overwhelmingly agricultural'[41]

Prerequisites of Healthy Industrial Development

All progressive nationalist groups in the country, stood for and pressed the demand for industrialization of India They considered it as a material premise for the economic prosperity, democratic social progress and cultural advance of the Indian people. Industrialization of India was recognized as the main remedy for relieving the overpressure on agriculture which was one of the reasons of the impoverishment of the agriculturists Hence, all social and political groups in the country, in spite of their other vital differences, made industrialization an essential item of their economic programme The Swadeshi movement, the fight against the rupee ratio, the struggle against the power granted to the Governors of Provinces under the Constitution of 1935, of 'safeguards' to protect British economic interests—a struggle in which all political groups joined—were inspired with the aim of transforming India into a rich industrial country The same aim animated the sponsors of such economic plans as the Tata-Birla Plan, wherein a Loyalist Dalal, a Liberal Tata and a Gandhian Congressite Birla made a common cause

We have enumerated the main obstacles to the rapid expansion of Indian industries such as the basic economic policies of the government; the immense poverty of the agrarian population, the potential market for industrial goods, the financial weakness of the Indian bourgeoise; and ever intensifying competition with international rivals who had

the support of their respective governments, and others.

In such a situation, a programme of planned national economy, covering every branch of economic life, could have alone brought about an assured, rapid and symmetrical development of industries Such a programme would have included the transformation of the poor and primitive agriculture into a prosperous modernized agriculture; modernization and extension of industries, development of metallurgical, chemical, electrical, machine producing and such other industries, extension of railway, bus and other means of transport, raising of technical and engineering cadres, training of agronomists on a mass scale and other vital items In fact, the programme of a planned national economy would have involved a veritable techno-economic revolution in the economic life of the Indian people It would have presented the colossal economic task of mobilizing and making a maximum and planned use of all vast material and human resources of the Indian sub-continent Without such a programme, however, rapid industrial development as well as a general economic advance were not possible

That a national economic plan was the vital prerequisite for economic survival and expansion, was recognized even by the bourgeoisie whose 'holy of holies' in the pre-crisis period was the principle of *laissez faire*

Bombay Plan, its Limitations

The Indian industrialists too recognized the arch-need of planning national economy. The Bombay Plan was the most outstanding among the various plans projected by the Indian industrial groups Realizing that political power was vital for implementing any such plan, the sponsors of the Bombay Plan looked forward to a national government to aid them in its fulfilment

There were some serious defects in the Bombay Plan Its protagonists hoped to achieve the programme of extensive industrial expansion without any radical revision of land relations extant in the country, a vital pre-condition for liquidating the poverty of the agriculturists and thereby elevating their purchasing power A revolution in land relations was necessary, to save the agrarian economy from further de-

terioration and even collapse and the agrarian population from deeper impoverishment

The sponsors of the Plan further hoped to implement it within the framework of the categories of capitalist economy such as competition, production for profit, private ownership of productive apparatus and others Though planning on a limited scale is possible on a capitalist basis, a comprehensive and nationwide planned economy requires as its prerequisite social ownership of land, industries, transport and other material means of production A free, planned, and maximum manipulation of resources in the interests of and for the use of the people instead of for the profits of a few owners, demands that these resources should be owned by the society as a whole. The entire motive of production must be shifted from that for profit to that for use

Even then, due to the fact that we live in an epoch of international division of labour and, more or less, a world-wide unified economy, the most well-planned national economy will be subject to the forces of world economy A fully well-planned national economy can therefore become only a part of a planned world-wide economy

However, planned national economy was substantially possible in a country like India with its tremendous man-power and rich natural resources But, for its realization, it presupposed as an inescapable premise national freedom, power not in the hands of vested interests but in those of the producing strata and social ownership of the means of production. The exponents of the Bombay Plan, however, conceived it in a different way

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'May we suggest that this plan definitely rejects the idea of the control of the economic organization in the interests of the consumers on the socialist basis, and only contemplates planning within the present economic structure? So long as the profit motive functions in a capitalist structure, the possibility of periodic crises and chronic unemployment cannot be overcome Nowhere in the present scheme do we find a reference to this inherent weakness of a capitalist order But it is naively assumed by the authors of the plan that they can organize economic life in such a way that some parts would be fully owned and managed by the state, others merely managed, while others would be only controlled In other words, they propose a sort of dual or mixed economy, one sector being fully free, others partly controlled and/or managed by the state But it is forgotten, attempts at the re-

gulation of one part of the economic structure may serve to sharpen the conflicts of competition in the structure as a whole'[42]

Social Significance of Indian Industrial Development

In spite of its insufficient and unbalanced character, industrialization played almost a revolutionary role in the life of the Indian people. It led to the consolidation of the unified national economy which evolved in India as a result of the introduction of capitalist economic forms in agriculture by the British government, penetration of India by the commercial forces of the world and spread of modern transport during the British rule Industrialization made the Indian economy more unified, cohesive and organic. It raised the tone of the economic life of India

Further, it brought into existence modern cities which became the centres of modern culture and increasing democratic social life and from which all progressive movements, social, political, and cultural, emanated.

The progressive social and political groups in India realized the advantages, direct and indirect, of industrialization Though they differed in their views regarding the social organization of industrial and other economic forces and resources whether on the *laissez faire* principle of private enterprise and unlimited individual competition or on a planned national basis, capitalist or socialist, they all stood for rapid, all-sided expansion of industries While sharply divided on many vital issues, they put up a united demand for it They jointly struggled for the removal of the various handicaps on industrial development The demand for industrialization thus became a national demand

The establishment of modern industries, in addition, engendered two important classes of the contemporary society, the bourgeoise and the proletariat, whose great significance in the national movement will be subsequently discussed

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CHAPTER VIII

MODERN MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Transport in Pre-British India

THE ROLE of modern means of transport such as railways, buses, and steamships, in the consolidation of peoples into modern nations cannot be overestimated It is not a mere accident that the nineteenth century, the century of the invention of modern means of transport, was also the century of emerging nationalism It is true that some peoples like the English and the French embarked on their careers as nations in the eighteenth century, still, their full development as nations in the social and cultural sense took place only in the course of the nineteenth century Modern means of transport invented in that century helped to consolidate them, economically and culturally, as nations [1]

In India too, the establishment and spread of railways and motor buses appreciably contributed to the forging of the Indian people into a nation

The technique of transport depends upon and is determined by the existing level of economic development of a country India of the pre-British period possessed a feeble transport system because, as a result of the scientific and technical backwardness of the people, modern industries which alone could manufacture modern means of transport, did not exist The village, where the overwhelming portion of the population lived, was autarchic. As a result of this, there was no stimulus to the improvement of the existing means of transport Weak economy perpetuated the weak transport system and the weak transport system hindered the development of that economy.[2]

'Most of the people lived in isolated villages, and except for a few articles of small size and high value, such as drugs, silks, and precious stones which are easily transportable, and a few bulkier commodities more universally used, yet in small quantities, such as iron and salt, they were dependent almost entirely upon local produce There was little specialization among the communities and hence little movement of either goods or persons Taking the crops from the fields, and a small share of these to nearby trading centres, was the chief movement of goods and this could be effected on the heads of men or the backs of animals For the few longer distances and large-scale movements, bullock-carts were used in the dry season In a few regions, especially in Bengal, the many rivers and bayous connected with the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, provided local and fairly long-distance carriage by water Also the Ganges and the Indus systems in the north and west, and the Krishna and the Godavari in the south furnished, access for small craft to parts of the interior During Mogul times there were a few dirty roads connecting the local capitals, and the British did little road building until after they became rulers '[3]

Due to the feeble means of transport existing in pre-British India, there could not develop large-scale unified economic, social and cultural life among the people Mass exchange among the common people for economic, social and cultural purposes, was not possible since there were no facilities for quick travel It is true that a few learned individuals, a few traders, some of those connected with the state apparatus and pilgrims travelled over the country, still the overwhelming majority of the population living in autarchic villages rarely left these villages In the absence of any appreciable social exchange among the people, they developed only local village or caste consciousness. They could not develop national consciousness and outlook.

Introduction of Modern Means of Transport

In the first half of the nineteenth century, as a result of the unprecedented technological advance together with the accumulation of capital from the trade during the previous period, powerful machine-based industries sprang into existence in England The English industrialists were faced with the problem of rapid disposing of the products of these new and steadily expanding industries and securing raw materials for them from India and other parts of the world.

The interests of the British industries urged the government of the East India Company to establish railways and construct roads in India. Lord Dalhousie, who initiated a programme of wide railway construction in India, in his famous *Minute on Railways* unambiguously defined the economic reason behind this construction

Further, British capitalism was being steadily confronted with the accumulation of surplus capital which could not always be employed profitably in Britain. An outlet was needed for this surplus capital If the Indian government were to adopt a programme of railway construction, it would require capital A part of the surplus capital accumulated in Britain could be loaned to the Indian government and thus find an outlet.

In addition to these economic reasons, there were political-administrative and military-strategic reasons for establishing railways in India.

The British conquest, when it became complete, united India, for the first time in her centuries-old history, into a single political-administrative system. This political-administrative unity of India accomplished by Britain was not a surface unity

Unlike the pre-British governments which were largely only revenue-collecting agencies, the British government made inroads in the inner life of the village, broke its inner juridical and policing independence, subjected it to the reign of a uniform system of law governing the entire land, posted its representatives in the village to enforce these laws, in fact, took over from the panchayats of the autonomous villages all those functions which belonged to the state but which those bodies had been performing from times immemorial

Thus the British evolved in India a colossal administrative apparatus penetrating even the remotest village The necessity to erect and efficiently operate such an apparatus also prompted them to establish and extend railways, to construct modern roads, to establish the post and telegraph systems It was this necessity of assembling villages, towns, districts, and provinces, increasingly brought under the British rule, into a single political-administrative system, which also stimulated railway construction in India

Further, the military-strategic reason, also made the introduction of the modern transport system in India necessary The British regime established in India had to be defended both against internal rebellion and from external invasion For a rapid mobilization and transfer of troops at the required key strategic points, it was necessary to lay down adequate railway lines and construct modern metalled roads Thus the military defence need of Britain also led to railway construction and, in general, to the extension of modern means of communications.

Their Lop-sided Development

Thus, the modern means of transport were established and extended not from the point of view of the free, normal, all-sided development of the economic, social, political and cultural life of the Indian nation, but primarily to serve the economic, political and military interests of Britain in India This lent a colonial character to the Indian transport system the structure of which thereby was adapted to making India play the role of a colonial adjunct of the British metropolis It, therefore, led to the insufficient, lop-sided distorted development of both railway and modern road systems in India

'The comparative inferiority of India in the matter of railway mileage may be illustrated by pointing out that as against India's 2 2 miles of railway line per 100 sq. miles and 7,894 inhabitants per mile of railway line, the United States which is a vast agricultural country like India, has 8 42 miles of line per 100 sq miles and 469 inhabitants per mile of railway line Again, Canada, Argentina, the Union of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, have an average of only 300 inhabitants per mile of railway line '[4]

The British government, realizing the vital role of railways in safeguarding the economic interests of British capital in India as well as in preserving the British power, always retained the final control of railways in the hands of its representative, the Viceroy of India. Even the Government of India Act of 1935 provided that 'the Executive Authority of the federation in respect of the regulation and the construction, maintenance, and operation of railways shall be exercised by a Federal Railway Authority The Federal Railway

Authority will be directly under the Governor-General and the Legislature will have no control over it'

Though railway and road construction in India was motivated by the considerations of the British interests and though, as a result of this, its development remained insufficient and lop-sided, still, it objectively played a progressive role in the history of the Indian people.

Railways helped the historically progressive new economic forces to destroy the economic foundations of the old Indian society. They helped the penetration of India by the industrial products of the modern society, thereby breaking the economic autarchy of the village. They helped to weld India into a single economic unit and also linked India with the world market. Railways helped to create a national economy, the material framework of the Indian nation

'The railways were of outstanding potency By creating the conditions necessary for specialization, they revolutionized production and trade, enabled the establishment of large-scale modern industries, and led to the development of great ports and industrial centres The railways also tried to equalize prices throughout the country and throughout the year and, in general, to effect economic unification railways did even more than the famine relief organization to transform the famine problem They also helped to make slave-emancipation a reality by providing alternative occupations and facilitating mobility'[5]

We will enumerate some of the principal positive gains derived from the introduction of railways and motor bus transport in India

The establishment of railways in India made inevitable, whether the British liked it or not, the birth of Indian industry owned by Indian capital as Karl Marx had prophesied as early as 1853

'I know that the English millocracy intend to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expense the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures But when you have once introduced machinery into the locomotion of a country, which possesses iron and coals, you are unable to withhold it from its fabrication You cannot maintain a net of railways over an immense country without introducing all those industrial processes necessary to meet the immediate and current wants of railway locomotion, and out of which there must grow the application of machinery

to those branches of industry not immediately connected with railways The railway system will therefore become, in India, truly the fore-runner of modern industry '[6]

Railways, their Progressive Significance

The role of railways in accelerating the process of industrialization was also pointed out by Joan Beauchamp.

'The building of railways, the spread of education among the Indian middle classes, the growing burden of the tribute exacted by Great Britain coupled with the increasing pressure on agriculture, the presence of raw materials such as cotton, jute, iron and coal, which could be profitably worked up in India itself—all these things made the coming of industrialism in India inevitable '[7]

Railways coupled with the profits from trade in the hands of the Indian trading class, sections of landlords and rich intellectuals made the birth of independent Indian industries possible This was an event of profound significance since it brought into existence the class of national industrial bourgeoisie, whose very interests brought them into conflict (conflict over market) with Britain, and that of the industrial proletariat whose specific weight in the national movement steadily increased

Railways and modern roads created a veritable revolution in the agricultural area They made agricultural production marketable The agriculturists began to produce commercial crops The agricultural economy became an integral part of the national and even world economy. The economic isolation of the village, the main cause of its social and cultural stagnation, broke down

Railways were a veritable boon during periods of famine. The surplus products of other parts of the country could be swiftly brought to the famine-stricken area and the agony of the population of that area alleviated If famines still occurred, it was generally and primarily not because of the lack of products in the area affected but often because of the lack of minimum purchasing power of the people

Modern means of transport were a formidable force in unifying the Indian people socially. The locomotive, triumphantly traversing a big physical distance, also helped to

annihilate the social distance dividing the people living in different parts

Motor buses, which were introduced at a later stage, played a great role in breaking the isolation of the village 'As the millions of Indian rats carry plague, so the thousands and thousands of buses, always crammed with passengers, and carrying them from the villages to the city and back, carry the virus of modernism.'[8]

Railways and buses made mass migration of people from one part of the country to another possible. To get work or to improve their prospects, people travelled by buses and railways from Madras to Bombay, from Lahore to Calcutta Educated individuals, doctors, teachers, clerks, chose to change their province for employment and in cities, like Bombay, professional classes composed of individuals belonging to almost all provinces in the country were found

The intermixture of people made possible by the large-scale facilities of travel provided by modern means of transport, had profound results Though for a time, old local and provincial outlooks persisted, a process of their undermining slowly set in Old narrow perspective and outlooks were steadily overcome. This paved the way for the growth of a wider national consciousness and co-operation on a national basis.

Railways proved effective dissolvents of orthodox social habits regarding food, physical contact, and others Railways, impartially, only on the basis of payment of railway fare, carried the Hindu touchable and the untouchable Though the former was first shocked, he soon reconciled himself to travelling with the untouchable since he did not like to forgo the advantages of travelling by train Railways thus weakened the adamantine orthodoxy of the orthodox Hindus The practice of railway travel, in course of time, dissolved his scruples regarding food, drink, and untouchability Railways made people move and intermix This constant intermingling and social exchange steadily destroyed the former habits of social isolation.

But for railways, motor buses and other modern means of communications, political and cultural life on a national scale would not have been possible. If these became the means of consolidating and preserving British rule in India,

they also played the role of being the material means for organizing the political movement of the Indian people on a national scale against that rule. Such political organizations as the Indian National Congress, the Liberal Federation, the National Democrats, Youth Leagues, the All-India Women's Conference, All-India Student Organizations, All-India Kisan Sabhas, the All-India Trade Union Congress and others could neither have come into being, nor been able to function on a national scale but for the facilities provided by modern railways, buses, post and telegraph The nationalist movement would have been inconceivable but for the fact that the railways made it possible for the people of different towns, villages, districts, and provinces to meet, to exchange views and decide upon programmes for the movement. But for the modern means of transport, no national conferences could have been held

Railways and buses made it possible to spread progressive social and scientific ideas among the people But for the modern means of transport, scientific and progressive literature (books, magazines, papers), could not have been quickly distributed throughout the country. Printed books for elementary schools were instruments for filtering education to the masses Printed books might have been turned out in tens of thousands but, without their quick distribution among thousands of villages and towns which railways and motor buses could accomplish, these books would not have reached those centres No mass education would have been possible without the services of modern means of transport

The scientific and cultural gains of a single centre could be made national property by the aid of railways. Scientists, artists, sociologists, philosophers, and economists could bring the wealth of their knowledge and the delight of their art to the people if they could travel from place to place and could appear before them. Scientific and cultural conferences, where the quintessence of Indian intellect and artistic talent met, were possible only if such swift means of travel as railways and buses existed Thus mass education as well as a culture, national in character and accessible to the nation, depended on railways as much as on other factors.

Prerequisites for their Sound Development

The lop-sided and limited character of the development of modern means of transport and communications in India prevented the full unfolding of the potential power of these means to accomplish a still closer social and economic integration and more rapid cultural advance of the Indian people. The problem of extensive and adequate expansion of those means was closely bound up with the problem of the political power in the hands of the Indian people, as also with that of a rapid development of the productive forces of the Indian society through a scientific plan of economic reconstruction which would have been fully possible if society, as a whole, owned all means of production

References

1 Refer Laski
2 Refer D. H. Buchanan, Gadgil, O'Malley
3 Buchanan, p 176
4 Soni, p 24
5 O'Malley, pp 269-70
6 Karl Marx, pp 62-3
7 Joan Beauchamp, p. 42
8 Basil Mathews quoted in O'Malley, p 248

CHAPTER IX

THE ROLE OF MODERN EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Education, its Social Significance

No SOCIETY can ever exist without economic activity It must carry on the production process even with a view to maintaining the bare physical existence of its members To be able to produce, that is to transform elements of nature into forms suitable for meeting the needs of men, it must gather an understanding of Nature i e it must achieve scientific knowledge It is in the process of social practice of man for biological existence that mechanics, physics, chemistry, agronomy and other sciences developed Men, associated in big or small groups, applied this scientific knowledge and evolved technology i e such means of production as the plough and the tools of the handicraft industry In recent times humanity has invented such marvellous means of production as machinery driven by steam, electricity and even by atomic energy

Every society, however backward, therefore, always possessed some scientific knowledge and technology It always possessed a philosophy or a world outlook, however crude it might be.

Pre-British Indian society which had been existing for centuries was, therefore, not without any scientific culture It lived by agriculture and handicrafts, which presupposed such sciences as astronomy, agronomy, mathematics and mechanics. Pre-British Indian society also possessed the science of medicine.

Since pre-British Indian society stood at a low level of economic development, the amount of scientific knowledge

it had attained and accumulated was small. The Indian people had done pioneering work in sciences such as mathematics, chemistry, and medicine, centuries before most of the modern peoples of the world ever awoke to civilized life But, thereafter, Indian society became stabilized almost at the same economic and cultural level for a long period and the Indian people did not progress appreciably It evolved, during this period various interpretations of the idealistic philosophy it had formulated in the Upanishads It, however, did not accomplish any striking thing in the sphere of natural sciences and technology.

By introducing modern education in India, the British brought the Indian people in contact with the extensive and profound achievements of the modern west in the sphere of scientific and social scientific knowledge.

'The time has arrived when the ancient debt of civilization which Europe owes to Asia is about to be repaid; and the sciences, cradled in the East and brought to maturity in the West, are now by a final effort to over-spread the world'[1]

Pre-British Indian Culture, Two Misconceptions

There were two misconceptions about the pre-British culture in India. The national-chauvinist Arya Samaj idealized India's past even to the fantastic extent of claiming that all knowledge, scientific, social, and spiritual, was achieved by the Aryans and lay deposited in the immortal Vedas The Arya Samaj claimed that all marvellous discoveries and inventions of modern times, all principles and conclusions of modern physics, chemistry, biology and engineering, were stated in the Vedas only if one knew how to interpret them appropriately

The national-chauvinist claim of the Arya Samaj arose out of its ignorance that all knowledge is historically conditioned, that, though growing, it is finite at a given moment and that its depth and extent depend upon the level of social development which a people has reached. Pre-British Indian society, during all phases of its existence, stood at a low level of socio-economic development and, therefore, the knowledge possessed by it was less than that achieved by modern humanity

Lord Macaulay, on the other hand, suffered from a misconception of the contrary nature He contemptuously dismissed all Indian culture as a colossal mass of unadulterated superstition He inquired whether the British should 'countenance at the public expense medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farriar, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school, history, abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter ..'[2]

This was a one-sided picture of India's past culture It is true that superstition is rampant on an extensive scale in every backward society but, along with superstition, there is always some element of scientific knowledge in every society As mentioned before, society to exist must produce and production presupposes technology and scientific knowledge, however meagre No society can, otherwise, survive. The very fact that the Indian society could exist for centuries in the Pre-British period shows that it possessed scientific knowledge. The task of every society is to critically carry over the culture of the past, i e. to assimilate the scientific elements in the culture of the past. Macaulay's uncritical denial was as unhistorical as the uncritical idealizing of India's past culture by the Arya Samaj

Education in Pre-British India

Hindu society was caste-stratified and, in the caste scheme which assigned a specific social function to each caste, it was the Brahmin caste which had the exclusive right to preach religious doctrines, to officiate as priests, and to function as teachers As such, they alone had the privilege to study all higher religious and secular knowledge Other castes were debarred by religious edicts enforced by the Hindu state from all higher studies The Brahmins studied in special seminaries started for the purpose, such as Tols, Vidyalayas and Chatuspathis The medium of instruction was Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, in which only, all religious and higher secular knowledge was expressed[3]

For the common people, there were, in every village and town, vernacular schools which taught mainly reading,

writing, and rudiments of arithmetic. These schools also imparted religious instruction to the pupils These schools were generally taken advantage of by the sons of the traders Women, the lower castes and agriculturists hardly received any education. Thus education among the Hindus, in pre-British India, was extremely restricted and for all, except the Brahmins, very poor in content The Brahmins enjoyed the monopoly of all higher education

Further, this education, as a part of the entire culture of the Hindu society, controlled and administered by the Brahmins, was a means of training the pupil in accepting the existing caste structure of the Hindu society, in believing in the infallibility of the Vedas, and of the Brahmins, in interpreting these Vedas It also taught the pupil the virtue of unconditional allegiance to elders, to parents, to teachers, to the king. In fact, education was a means of making the individual accept and conform to the hierarchic structure of society and completely subordinate his individuality to it

Among the Muslims in pre-British India, the higher education was not a monopoly of a section This was due to the democratic character of Islam Any Muslim could study at the Madarasa. However, all higher education was imparted in Arabic, an alien language in India, since the Koran was written in that language There were, however, schools which, in addition to the Koran, taught vernaculars, Persian, 'the language of Islamic culture and administration', and other subjects.

> 'The systems' (the Hindu and the Muslim) 'had much in common. They taught in a language or languages foreign to the people at large, they drew their strength from their association with religion, and, being based on unchanging authority, they discouraged the spirit of free inquiry and resisted change But there was one respect in which they differed profoundly While the Hindu schools were designed for one favoured class of the community Muslims schools were open without let to all who confessed that there was but one God and Muhammad was his Prophet'[5]

Neither individuality nor a rationalist outlook could develop among the pupils in these schools in pre-British India The education imparted was to make the pupils staunch Hindus or Muslims, uncritical subscribers to their respective religions and social structures sanctioned by those religions

The introduction of modern education was an event of great historical significance for India. It was definitely a progressive act of the British rule

Introduction of Modern Education

Three main agencies were responsible for the spread of modern education in India. They were the foreign Christian missionaries, the British government and the progressive Indians.

The Christian missionaries, who did extensive work in the sphere of the spread of modern education in India, were inspired mainly by a proselytizing spirit, to spread Christianity among the Indian people They sincerely believed that their campaign to convert the Indians was a civilizing mission. They attacked polytheism and the caste inequalities among the Hindus, for, Christianity fundamentally stood for one God and social equality These missionaries were among the pioneers of modern education in India While imparting modern secular education, the educational institutions started by them also gave religious instruction in Christianity These principally secular schools served as centres to bring together the Indians and then preach Christianity to them It happened, however, that while the overwhelming majority of the students who attended these institutions imbibed modern education, a very small fraction of them became Christians. Though their principal aim in starting these institutions was religious, these missionary organizations played an important role in spreading modern education among the Indians [6]

The British government was, however, the principal agent in disseminating modern education in India It established a network of schools and colleges in India which turned out tens of thousands of educated Indians versed in modern knowledge In spite of the limitations and distortions of the education imparted which were the object of criticism of Indian nationalism, the fact remains that Britain by spreading modern education in India, liberal and technical, even due to its own needs, objectively played a progressive role

The introduction of modern education in India was primarily motivated by the political-administrative and economic

needs of Britain in India. It was not a mere accident that by the middle of the nineteenth century, especially under Lord Dalhousie, important beginnings of the inauguration of modern education in India were made. It was by that time that Britain brought under its rule a substantial portion of the Indian territory. It was also then that the industrial products of Britain began to flow into India and the trade between Britain and India reached, though to Britain's advantage, huge proportions[7]

The British government organized a huge, extensive, well-ramified state machinery to administer the conquered territory. A large number of educated individuals was required to staff this immense machinery of political rule It was not possible to secure this supply of educated people from Britain herself It, therefore, became necessary to establish schools and colleges in India to turn out educated people who would staff the administrative apparatus of the British rule. The British government entrusted the key posts in this state machinery to the British and filled the subordinate posts with educated Indians

For the expanding trade with India, also for the industries which she increasingly established in India, Britain needed clerks, managers, and agents who knew English. This political-administrative and economic necessity mainly urged the British government to establish schools and colleges in India, where modern education which alone could meet the needs of a modern nation was imparted. These educational institutions provided clerks for the government and commercial offices, lawyers versed in the structure and processes of the new legal system, doctors trained in the modern medical science, technicians, and teachers.

There were other motives also which encouraged some of the British statesmen and leaders of English thought to endorse the introduction of modern education in India. These enlightened Britishers were convinced that the British culture was the best and the most liberal in the world and that if India, South Africa, and, later on, the entire world, were 'anglicized' culturally, it would pave the way for the social and political unification of the world The British were inspired by an almost missionary zeal for spreading British education and culture Macaulay belonged to this group of

British statesmen headed by Cecil Rhodes In his will, Cecil Rhodes 'sketched his idea of the British Empire, and beyond its bounds of the great commonwealth of peoples linked together by the bond of English language and culture, serving the cause of peace among men His aim was "the extension of British rule throughout the world, the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates.. the whole of South Africa the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire, and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity"[8]

This was a programme of 'anglicizing' the world and thereby achieving the empire and world political and social unity of peoples under the guidance and leadership of Britain

A group of prominent Englishmen, Mountstuart Elphinstone among them, also held that English education 'would make the Indian people gladly accept the British rule' It was hoped that "The enlightenment due to education would reconcile the people to British rule and even engender a sense of attachment to it Education in English, according to Mountstuart Elphinstone, was a political necessity. The British were exposed to danger from the precarious foundation of their government, owing to the total separation between them and the people, and the only means of ensuring its stability was to communicate their own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education. The spirit of English literature, Trevelyan wrote in 1938 in his brochure on the Education of the People of India, could not but be favourable to the English connection, forgetting that it is the literature of freedom and calculated to inspire a spirit of nationalism, and independence"[9]

Thus the political and economic necessity of British capitalism in India, together with an almost fanatical belief in the role of Britain as the Messiah to civilize and unify the world by a world-scale dissemination of British culture, prompted the introduction of modern education in India.

The third powerful agency in spreading modern education

in India was the Indians themselves. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the pioneer of progressive modern education in India. He hailed the English education as the key to the treasures of scientific and democratic thought of the modern west. He declared that perpetuation of the old system of education in India would only perpetuate superstition and authority. 'If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate their ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness if that had been the policy of the British Legislature.'[10]

Subsequently, numerous organizations such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Aligarh Movement, and individuals like Deshmukh, Chiplunkar, Agarkar, Maganbhai Karamchand, Karve, Tilak, Gokhale, Malavia, Gandhi and others worked towards the establishment of educational institutions, both for men and women, imparting modern education throughout the country. It is true that they were critical of some aspects of that education, still, they recognized its value, and with some changes, supported its spread among the people. Some of them criticized its secular nature and, in the institutions they organized, added religious instruction. The Benares Hindu University organized by Pandit Malaviya and the Aligarh University organized by Syed Ahmed Khan were the outstanding instances of this movement. Some criticized the textbooks used in the government or missionary schools as promoting an attitude of depreciation of India's past or for being divorced from the realities of life, and prepared and substituted different textbooks which would kindle national self-respect among the Indians. However, almost all of them retained the essential core of modern education, its anti-authoritarian liberal note, its emphasis on individual liberty, its rejection of blind faith and stress on modern natural sciences. Even schools and colleges started by the Arya Samaj (Lajpat Rai Section), the militant foe of alien influences, accepted and taught modern education, only adding to it religious instruction, such as the teaching of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas which, in fact, contradicted the

very spirit of the liberal education which they imparted, the keynote of which was to appraise things by experiment and reason

Unhealthy Reactions to Modern Education

Modern education created an unhealthy reaction among a section of the Indians who received it

The first contact with the modern western culture through new education was electrifying The essential rational and liberation core of this culture was not however comprehended by a section of the Indians While correctly discarding old norms and criteria which only imposed fetters on the free creative initiative of the individual, the educated Indian failed to substitute, in their place, rational norms and criteria to guide individual conduct He misunderstood freedom from all irrational taboos as freedom to do anything that a chance impulse incited He mistook freedom as license to drink or to indulge in unhealthy modes of sex life While overthrowing old authoritarian conceptions of social life, he could not evolve a positive social conception His reaction to the old millieu was predominantly negative He saw through the irrationality of the old forms and outlooks but could not build up a new positive progressive theory for individual and social practice. This often bred anarchy in personal life and brought about his isolation from the people Instead of feeling the historical responsibility of the intellectual vanguard to guide the people from a stationary and superstitious social existence to a progressive democratic free national life, he developed an unheroic contempt for them, for their social and cultural backwardness A chasm developed between him and the people He branded the people as 'barbarous', the people called him 'anglicized' and 'denationalized'

Western culture did not recommend unhealthy personal habits or antipathy to the common people What modern rationalism demanded, was the development of a rational outlook on life, healthy personal habits, rejection of blind faith and a critical attitude to all cultures and social institutions of the past, implying thereby that whatever was of permanent value in those cultures and institutions should be assimilated and whatever was found erroneous in the light of

the reinforced knowledge of contemporary society, or had outlived its historical necessity and therefore did not correspond to the needs of a changed social situation, be rejected. Individual liberty, social equality, collective progress, reason as the supreme criterion to judge ideas and institutions, intense nationalism—these, in fact, constituted the cornerstone of western Liberalism In spite, of the fact that some of these principles were abstractly formulated and were only partially realized, due to capitalist conditions of social existence,[11] their enunciation was a landmark in the social and cultural evolution of mankind and signified progress from Medievalism to modern capitalism, a historically higher form of society

There was a vital reason why such a phenomenon as a section of the educated Indians shaking off healthy mental and moral restraints and exhibiting an uncritical contempt for everything Indian, appeared The restrictions imposed on individual liberty by the medieval social structure, authoritarian at its very pore, by the iron rule of caste and social custom, were so stifling that, under the first impact of the social libertarian ideology of the west, the educated Indians—only a section of them though—rebelled against the idea of any restraint Feeling a frenzied yearning to be free from extant chains, both physical and mental, imposed on him by an authoritarian social system and ideology, he temporarily and temporarily only, though social reaction exaggerated this first aberration, mistook the doctrine of liberty advocated by western Liberalism as the cult of anarchic living Such blind reactions mark all transitional periods in social history.[12]

Serious defects in new education further accentuated this phenomenon It gave exaggerated importance to the English language which led to the development of a social gulf between the educated Indian and the masses. This education was greatly divorced from the real life of the Indian people and problems viewed from the standpoint of Indian national progress It glorified and idealized the British rule and depreciated India's past instead of giving a critical scientific appraisal of it It overemphasized the study of the English history It did not awaken any national pride All this further prompted the educated Indian to disorient from the Indian people, to feel himself identified with the ruling nation

and harbour a contempt for the common people

Social and religious reaction, of course, utilized this mis-assimilation of the great rationalist and democratic culture of the west by this section of educated Indians, to denounce western culture itself It tried to misrepresent western culture as giving a free passport to drink, unhealthy sex life, arrogant anti-social and anti-national egoism Reaction, thereby, sought to entrench itself against the critical intellectual attack on itself by the social liberatarian and rationalist doctrines which formed the core of modern western culture In the name of social discipline, it justified its oppressive bans and taboos on individual freedom, bans and taboos which were a veritable strait-jacket for the free physical, mental and emotional life of the individual In the name of nationalism, it strove to conserve the past with its archaic social institutions and superstitious mental outlooks

It should be noted, however, that this blind reaction was only an ephemeral phenomenon.

Growth of Modern Education upto 1854

Before 1813, there were sporadic efforts to introduce modern education by missionary groups and the East India Company The extent of the combined educational work of these two agencies was extremely limited and had significance only as pioneering work

The Charter Act of 1813 marked a point of departure in the East India Company towards the education of its Indian subjects Under it, the Company, for the first time, assumed state responsibility for education It provided that 'a sum of not less than a lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart,' for educational purposes [13]

There were two schools of thought among the Britishers regarding the type of education to be imparted to the Indians. The first school of thought known as the Anglicists of which Macaulay was the most outstanding protagonist, advocated 'the substitution of Western culture for the Indian' and set, as the aim of the education, the creation of a class of Indians who would be 'Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect' [14] This school further stood for English as the medium of education It was

supported in this view by the missionaries, the younger officials of the Company and progressive Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy

The second school known as the Orientalists, while agreeing to the programme of the dissemination of western sciences and knowledge among the Indians, however, staunchly advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic literature. The adherents of the second school were however split into two groups over the question of the medium of instruction One group argued in favour of classical languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic being adopted as the medium of education. This group was especially strong in Bengal and was influenced by the views of Warren Hastings and Minto The other group was led by the Munro and Elphinstone and was strong in Bombay It held that western education could reach the mass of the people only if it was imparted in vernaculars

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group were enthusiastic supporters of Macaulay and his compeers The Raja submitted a memorial to the Governor-General in 1823 wherein he urged the government to 'promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences'.[15] Raja's attitude in this matter was the forerunner of the attitude of the Liberal school in Indian politics which subsequently evolved and which idealized western education and was criticized by other nationalist groups (Pal, Ghose, Gandhi and others) for depreciating Indian culture.

The controversy was settled in favour of the Anglicists when Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, endorsed and adopted their view in 1935. The resolution published by the government stated that 'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone...' and further 'that all the funds be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language'.[16]

The educational policy of the Company's government neglected mass education and indigenous village schools which imparted elementary education, however limited and crude,

to the people. The Anglicists believed in the Downward Filtration Theory i.e. a theory which held that knowledge would percolate from the educated classes to the masses through the independent effort of the former.

In Bombay, the advocates of vernaculars as the medium of education suffered a defeat. Jagannath Shankerseth, one of the three Indians on the Board of Education, the others being Framjee Cowasjee and M. I. Mackba, stated in the Minute he submitted: 'I am persuaded that the vernacular languages possess advantages superior to English as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people of western India. It cannot be denied that they must have less difficulty in understanding whatever is communicated to them in their own language, than in a foreign language. I am far from wishing to discourage the study of English, but I believe it to be beyond the reach of the masses of people.'[17]

The controversy in Bombay had one result. Though English as the exclusive medium of instruction was adopted at the collegiate stage, the use of the vernaculars was retained at the secondary stage.

From Wood's Dispatch to Lord Curzon's University Act

The first phase in the history of modern education in India ended with Wood's Dispatch, 1854, which resolved all controversies of the period round the subject of education into well defined attitudes. The Dispatch was usually called the Magna Charta of Indian education because of some larger tasks it set to the government. However its implementing in subsequent years was declared inadequate by Indian critics.

The Dispatch stated that the educational system in India was organized for the triple object of (1) spreading western culture, (2) securing properly trained servants for the public administration, and (3) doing their duty to the sovereign by the Indian subjects.[18]

Regarding the controversy about the medium of instruction, the Dispatch reached the conclusion that (1) English should be used as the medium of instruction at the collegiate stage, (2) secondary education was to be imparted both through English and through modern Indian languages, and (3) modern Indian languages were to be encouraged with a

view to making them the media in course of time for imparting higher education. The Indian critics of the government blamed it for not implementing properly the last two conclusions [19] The Dispatch further stated that the government should assume direct responsibilities for the education of the masses (thus abandoning the former Downward Filtration Theory) and women.

It was Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854 which laid the foundation of the structure of the modern educational system in India The growth of education gathered momentum after 1854

It was however after 1880 that the rapid advance of education took place in India From 1880, large-scale educational work was organized in the country by the missionaries, the Education Department of the government and progressive Indians Among these three agencies, Indian private enterprise had the largest share in the spread of education in 1901-2 [20]

The Deccan Education Society, established in the Bombay Presidency in the seventies by Tilak and Agarkar, was an outstanding instance of educational enterprises started by the nationalist Indians on their own initiative The founders of the Society recognized the significant role of modern education in the social, political, and cultural advance of the Indian people. They also aimed at gathering round the Society a band of self-sacrificing educated Indians who would consecrate their lives to educational and other forms of national work. In fact, a number of patriotic Indians including Tilak and Gokhale, two of the most outstanding leaders of Indian nationalism, were associated with the activities of the Society

Special reference may be made to Vijapurkar, who at the end of the nineteenth century started at Talegaon a Rashtriya School which was probably the first among the group of independent educational experiments made by the Indians, a forerunner of experiments such as Vidyapith and Vardha Educational Scheme which were conceived and organized in the subsequent period

The school imparted technical education Indian industries had appreciably developed by this time. The founder of the school was urged by the motive of providing technicians to these industries so that their dependence on foreign

technicians might be diminished It is also possible that another motive prompting the organizer was to meet the need of the growing terrorist movement in the country for technicians who could forge weapons for the movement

The indigenous school system rapidly declined by the end of the nineteenth century This was mainly due to the operation of two causes namely (1) absence of financial support from the state and (2) because only those who received education in new schools were eligible for posts Even private employers preferred them

Third Phase, upto 1921

The period between 1901 and 1921 was a period of political unrest, of the Bengal Partition Movement, the Morley-Minto Reforms, World War I, the Home Rule and Non-Co-operation Movements It was a period of the great national awakening of the Indian people, of their rising political consciousness and increasing critical attitude to the measures of the British and increasing critical attitude to the measures of the British government, in the spheres of politics, economics and education

There had been a phenomenal growth of education between 1880 and 1901 Lord Curzon and others criticized this growth from the standpoint of quality They remarked that the quality of education had appreciably deteriorated since 1880, that educational institutions under private control were inefficient, that the educated Indians had an innate incapacity to assimilate foreign culture and that the educational system should be remodelled with a view to turning out men of character[21]

The Indian critics, on the other hand, stressed the vital importance of quantitative expansion of education in the interests of the general culture of the Indian people According to them, what was required was not the limiting of the education out of anxiety for quality but 'a very rapid expansion of higher education on a voluntary basis and the introduction of compulsory elementary education for the masses.'

[21] 'Let not Government imagine that unless the education imparted by colleges is the highest it is likely to be useless and even perni-

> cious; and secondly let not the achievements of our graduates in the intellectual field be accepted as the sole or even the most important test to determine the utility of this education I think that, in the present circumstances of India, all western education is valuable and useful To my mind, the greater work of western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas. For this purpose, not only the highest but all western education is useful '[22]

The Indian critics also stood for full freedom for private enterprise in the field of establishing educational institutions. Extremists like Pal and the Ghose brothers attacked the education as it was imparted as denationalizing Their criticisms are referred to later.

In spite of almost universal Indian opposition, the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed, which, among other restricting provisions, made the conditions for affiliation of a college to a University stricter It also vested in the government power regarding the rules to be framed by the University Senate, also power to nominate the majority of Fellows and to require approval for affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges The critics remarked that, under the Act, the Universities were reduced merely to a Department of State

A further setback, from the standpoint of the expansion of education, was caused by the revised Grant-in-Aid Codes framed between 1904 and 1908 This adversely affected the growth of secondary schools Finally, the defeat of Gokhale's Bill for introducing compulsory education (described as the Magna Charta of primary education) dissolved all hope of making the Indian masses educated

The growing discontent at the educational policy of the government steadily kindled among the Indians a desire for the control of the Department of Education itself It also created among some of the leaders an urge to organize new independent educational experiments.

Fourth Phase, 1921-1939

Under Dyarchy, the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921. Under it, the Provincial governments had greater freedom to adopt and imple-

ment programmes of educational expansion. There was, as a result of this, an appreciable growth in the spread of education after 1921.

Limitations of financial resources, however, soon restricted this growth This discontinuance of specific grants to education sanctioned by the Government of India from 1901-21 reinforced by the economic difficulties born of the world economic depression, made the carrying through of big schemes of educational extension difficult

There was, however, a steady expansion of education between 1921 and 1937 The following figures portray this growth

Statistics of Education 1921-2 and 1936-7

Type of Institution	**No. of Institutions**		**No of Scholars**	
	1921-2	1936-7	1921-2	1936-7
Universities	10	15	Figures not available	9,697
Arts Colleges	165	271	45,418	86,273
Professional Colleges	64	75	13,662	20,045
Secondary Schools	7,530	13,056	11,06,803	22,87,872
Primary Schools	1,55,017	1,92,244	61,09,752	1,02,24 288
Special Schools	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Total for Recognized Institutions	1,66,130	2,11,308	73,96,560	1,28,88,044
Unrecognized Institutions	16,322	16,647	4,22,165	5,01,530
Grand Total	1,82,452	2,27,955	78,18,725	1,33,89,574

(The above figures are for British India excluding Burma)

In addition to the Indian control of the Department of Education, there were other factors which explain the expansion of education. The tremendous social and political awakening among the people during this period was one among these factors[23]

The rapid extension of mass education was one of the most significant events during this period A number of Compulsory Education Acts were passed in most of the provinces Such Acts, where they existed, were more or less given effect to during this period. The following figures re-

flect the advance in primary education from 1922 to 1927

Statistics of Primary Education

	1921-2	1926-7
Number of Primary Schools	1,55,017	1,84,829
Number of Pupils in Primary Schools	61,09,752	80,17,923
Expenditure on Primary Education (Direct)	Rs 4,94,69,080	Rs 6,75,14,802

After 1927 the rate of progress in primary education began to decline. The economic depression which raged in subsequent years was one of the main causes. It compelled the abandonment of a number of schemes for the extension of primary education The other reason for the slowing down was the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the government to concentrate more on consolidation than 'diffusion' of primary education This view was generally criticized by non-official opinion which favoured quantitative growth of literacy and education 'Education must pour and not trickle'

'Not only the example of other countries but their educational history also shows that rapid expansion must precede all other educational reforms India has never realized the greatest truth in mass education that slow progress is no progress at all'[21]

The period between 1921 and 1937 witnessed a number of educational experiments by distinguished Indian educationists and outstanding leaders of Indian nationalism Vishwa-Bharati started by Poet Rabindranath Tagore, the S N D T Women's University organized by Karve, the Kashi Vidyapith, the Jamia Millia, the Gujerat Vidyapith and the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, were principal among these enterprises

The period after 1937 was marked by three outstanding events which had a great effect on the life of the Indian people (1) the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, (2) the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, and (3) the political storm which broke out in August 1942, in India and the subsequent developments

The introduction of Provincial Autonomy, on the whole, gave an impetus to the growth of primary education How-

ever, such experiments as the Vidya Mandir Scheme of Education based on Gandhian ideology sponsored by the Congress Ministers in some provinces, provoked severe criticism from sections of the intelligentsia as well as the non-Hindu communities The other two events had a very far-reaching effect on the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the entire Indian people

Modern Education in India, main Criticisms

Since modern education was introduced in India to meet the needs of Britain as already enumerated above, its progress had been restricted and its character, from the standpoint of the progress of the Indian people, unsatisfactory Since the main purpose of the inauguration of modern education was to supply the English-knowing personnel to the British apparatus, mass education had been throughout seriously neglected.

After more than a century of the British rule, 94 per cent of the Indian population remained illiterate in 1911, and 92 per cent in 1931. The number of students receiving education in primary and secondary schools amounted to 13 5 million only or 4 9 per cent of the entire population in 1934-5 Even of these, two-thirds who studied in primary schools did not study beyond the first year and less than one-fifth reached the final year.[25]

'The majority of children in primary schools are under instruction for between three and four years only, and for the greater portion of the time, four out of every five linger in the lowest class In consequence, there is a tendency to lapse into illiteracy after the short period of instruction comes to a close '[26]

The illiteracy and resultant ignorance among the masses inevitably obstructed social, political, and economic progress

The number of students studying in higher education institutions was 159,254 in 1941-2 or about 0.5 per cent of the population

The economic development of a backward country demands educational cadres trained in technical studies In 1934-35, the students graduating in engineering, agriculture or commerce numbered only 960 'The greatest shortage has

been in technical education In such fields as agriculture, commerce and engineering, one sparsely settled American state such as Iowa, with one per cent of the population of British India, has more students'[27]

The costly nature of education was another target of nationalist criticism. The Indian people were extremely poor and could not afford to pay for a costly education. It was because of this that the University Reform measure of Lord Curzon, making education though more efficient yet more costly, met popular opposition In fact, the Indian nationalists suspected Lord Curzon of the desire to limit education, under the cover of making it efficient, since he thought that the spread of education 'bred sedition' Even the non-Indians had noticed that the British officials attributed political ferment to the spread of English education 'Many officials in India sincerely believed that education would increase unrest and make the problem of governing more difficult . the chief argument, however, was always financial'.[28] All higher education, because of its cost, had been inaccessible to the great majority of the Indian people

The Indian nationalists criticized the government for insufficient expenditure on education which always remained 'the Cinderella of the Services'. While one-third of the total State revenue was, on the average, spent on the military, education was assigned a scanty sum

Further, the Indian nationalists criticized this education from many points According to them, it was divorced from the actualities of Indian life It did not give a true picture of Indian life, of the political servitude and of the real causes of the economic and cultural backwardness of Indian society It did not pose Indian problems or offer their solution from the Indian national standpoint It gave a distorted account of India's past history, glorified the British conquerors of India and portrayed the British as civilizers of India. It tended to weaken national pride and self-respect Further, as this education was transmitted in English, a foreign language, to suit the needs of the British, it retarded the rapid assimilation of knowledge and created a chasm between the educated Indian and the common people of India The Indian nationalists criticized the methods and organization of the educational system as well

'The neglect of mass education merely showed that the new rulers of India had not come to the country to indulge in "social uplift", and the excessive importance attached to English was the natural consequence of their desire to economize in administration by creating on the spot a class of minor officials instead of importing every clerk and civil servant from England

' .Its (the educational system) object was to impress on middle class Indian youths the glory and grandeur of Britain and to train them to be competent servants of a foreign bureaucracy It was vocational education with a vengeance vocational education which threw the weight of the curriculum on such matters as English syntax, Shakespearean prosody and the dates of the kings and queens, who had reigned over England '[29]

'The British Government in India has, from the very beginning, tried to shape and control the course of public education, and the motive has always been to strengthen the foundations of their political authority in the country '[30]

Various attempts at organizing parallel educational systems on national lines were made by Indian nationalist groups but they did not meet with any appreciable success

There were reasons why the schemes of national education did not succeed Since degrees and diplomas of government Universities were generally necessary for securing posts both in private as well as government services, independent national educational institutions not affiliated to the government Universities did not draw a large number of students The demise of the Gujerat Vidyapith started by Gandhi in Ahmedabad was an instance of this The Snatakas or the graduates of this college were as a rule not considered equals of the graduates of the Bombay University even by the Congress-minded employers

Further, the Indian nationalists were never unanimous about the principle on which a scheme of national education was to be constructed Some like Malaviya, Gandhi and the Arya Samajists, found fault with the secular character of the education given in official schools and colleges. They advocated religious instruction (Gita for the Hindus and Koran for the Muslims) as an integral part of education Leaders like Jawaharlal preferred purely secular education since education should have a rational basis while religion rested on faith and intuition

In fact, in attacking the secular nature of official education, leaders like Gandhi attacked thereby the very pro-

gressive element in that education. Their suggestion to incorporate religious instruction in the curricula of education was a reactionary one Gandhi evolved the Vidya Mandir Scheme, a scheme of national education for India He described that scheme as a polytechnique scheme of education, since it combined theoretical education with industry with a view to achieving an all-sided development of the individual The principle of the polytechnique education was a progressive one but when that idea was propounded in Europe, it meant an education based on the union of modern theoretical education and modern industry Gandhi, on the other hand, in his scheme, combined modern education with an added religious veneering with pre-modern handicrafts This looked like an unhistorical wedding of modern education (the product and guide of modern socio-economic conditions) and pre-modern crafts of a past era Such educational schemes, being unreal and unhistorical, could not gain support However, the main criticisms of the Indian nationalists were correct.

Mass education had drawn the attention of the Indian nationalists. 'It is obvious that an ignorant and illiterate nation can never make any solid progress and must fall back in the race of life. What we therefore want and want most urgently, is first of all, a widespread diffusion of elementary education, an effective and comprehensive system of primary schools for the masses; and the longer this work is delayed the more insuperable will be our difficulties in gaining for ourselves a recognized place among the nations of the world'[81] The necessity of mass education for national progress was categorically pointed out. Since then, increasing effort in that direction was made by all progressive Indians Campaigns to liquidate illiteracy were organized Student groups spent summer months in trips to villages to spread literacy among the villages Night classes for workers were organized in cities for the same purpose Such organizations as the Indian National Congress, the Social Service League, the All India Students' Organizations and many other institutions, increased their work in that direction However, the task was so colossal that they could only just touch the fringe of it

Its Progressive Essense

In spite of the defects already enumerated, the introduction of modern education in India was a progressive act of the British rule It was secular in character, liberal in essence, open to all, irrespective of caste or creed, unlike the education in the pre-British period But above all, it was the key which opened the great treasures of rationalist and democratic thought of the modern West to the Indians

It was not a mere accident that the pioneers and all subsequent leaders of Indian nationalism came from the educated classes of the Indian society

'The rising generation assimilated European teaching with astounding receptivity They quickly became nationalists, democrats, and socialists Cavour, Mazzini, Kossuth, Parnell, and Mill became their teachers and heroes The English Government forbade European history of the nineteenth century to be taught in Indian schools But already it was too late The process could no longer be checked, and at this point it soon took a new turn A more intimate acquaintance with European culture had been attained and it was no longer accepted uncritically The European writers who themselves criticized Europe Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy, and others played their part '[32]

The British government was frequently alarmed at the spread of extreme political ideas among the educated Indians which they imbibed from the political literature of Europe due to their knowledge of English It took administrative measures and regulated the influx of foreign literature into India. Sometimes, it prohibited such works as the *Life of Mazzini,* the leader of Italian nationalism In spite of such obstruction by the British government to the spread of certain species of modern European thought, it must be admitted that it was the knowledge of English which helped the Indians to study modern European literature. Indian nationalism always struggled for the freedom of unhindered contact with modern European thought of all varieties

Thus modern education played a contradictory double role. Introduced at the outset with a view to meeting the political and administrative needs of Britain and even to strengthening the bond of the British rulers and the Indian ruled, it also helped Indian nationalism in its struggle against that rule

Indian Nationalism, No Offspring of Modern Education

A number of British statesmen and writers claimed that Indian nationalism was the product of the modern education which the Britishers introduced in India They asserted that the urge for national freedom grew among the Indian people because modern education helped them to study and imbibe the liberation doctrines propounded by western authors. While recognizing the progressive role played by the introduction of modern education in India, it would be incorrect to conclude that Indian nationalism was the child of this education.

Indian nationalism was, in fact, the outcome of the new social material conditions created in India and the new social forces which emerged within the Indian society, as a result of the British conquest It was the outcome of the objective conflict of interests, the interests of Britain to keep India politically and economically subjected to her and the interests of the Indian people for a free political, economic, and cultural evolution of the Indian society unhindered by the British rule

Indian nationalism crystallized as a national movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By that time, educated classes grew in the country and, with the rise of Indian industries, the industrial bourgeoisie came into existence. These classes were the organizers of the national movement, which inscribed on its banner such demands as Indianization of Services, Protection for Indian Industries, Fiscal Autonomy. The movement arose out of the conflict of British and Indian interests in the economic and other spheres. This conflict of interests is the genetic cause of the Indian national movement.

'The Indian national movement arose from the conditions of imperialism and its system of exploitation the rise of the Indian bourgeoisie and its growing competition against the domination of the British bourgeoisie were inevitable, whatever the system of education, and if the Indian bourgeoisie had been educated only in the Sanskrit Vedas, in monastic seclusion from every other current of thought, they would have assuredly found in the Sanskrit Vedas the inspiring principles and slogans of their struggle'[33]

In fact, left nationalist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal

and others *did* find in a reinterpreted Hinduism, a religion of nationalism and in Goddess Kali, a deified expression of this nationalism

Different classes had their specific grievances against Britain The industrialists desired freedom for unobstructed industrialization of India and protection for the native industries The educated classes demanded the Indianization of Services, since the higher posts were mainly the preserve of the British. The agriculturists demanded reduction of the land tax The workers demanded better conditions of work and a living wage The nation as a whole demanded the freedom of association and press, assembly, elected legislatures, representative institutions, dominion status, home rule and finally complete Independence It was out of these contradictions of interests of Britain and India that Indian nationalism grew

It must however be recognized that the assimilation of modern democratic ideas of the west by many nationalist leaders with the help of modern education prompted them to give the national movement democratic forms and aim Under their leadership, the nationalist movement did not aim, after securing Swaraj, at the rehabilitation of the monarchic forms of rule and authoritarian social systems which prevailed in pre-British India The nationalist movement organized itself, on the whole, on modern liberal principles such as elections, democratic committees, decisions reached by a majority vote etc It also visualized for a free India, representative institutions based on democratic principles

Thus, modern education, indirectly if not directly gave a democratic direction to Indian nationalism

Modern Education, its Advantages

The advantages of the knowledge of English were almost immeasurable It gave access to modern English literature, one of the richest, if not the richest, literatures in the world. It was the literature of the British nation, the first modern nation in history which vanquished and overthrew medievalism as early as the end of the eighteenth century In the struggle against medievalism, it laid the foundation of modern democratic, scientific, and rationalist culture which

it further developed and enriched during its subsequent victorious existence In its struggle against the absolutism of the medieval state based on the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, it laid the foundation of the theory of the sovereignty of the people and the democratic state. In its struggle against the religious obscurantist ideology of the Middle Ages, it forged the weapon of modern Rationalism In its struggle against serfdom and hierarchic medieval social structure based on the principle of heredity, it proclaimed the doctrine of individual liberty. Further, it developed a rich scientific and technological culture It created modern natural sciences such as modern physics, chemistry, biology and agronomy It also made a huge advance in medicine and engineering, and created a science of society, modern sociology

From the sixteenth century onward, Britain produced giants of thought in every sphere of social endeavour It produced Bacon, who gave the scientific method to study processes and phenomena, both social and natural—the method of induction. He declared practice as the source of scientific theory and the criterion to judge the validity of any theory This gave a death blow to the theory of *a priori* reasoning and paved the way for rapid and real progress in the field of knowledge both of Nature and Society. Britain produced a galaxy of profound thinkers after Bacon such as Darwin, the disoverer of one of the most valuable scientific theories, the theory of evolution of organic life, especially of the human species, which dealt a fatal blow to the fantastic explanation of man's origin provided by religious fables, Spencer, the profound sociologist, Locke, the great philosopher, Godwin, the pioneer of philosophical anarchism, John Stuart Mill, the implacable foe of all authoritarianism and stalwart exponent of individual liberty and popular sovereignty, Adam Smith, the father of modern economic science, Newton, the brilliant mathematician, physicist, and philosopher, Carlyle and Ruskin, both ruthless critics of social injustices rampant in modern society, though exponents of reactionary social solutions of the problems, harking back to the past, Ricardo, perhaps the most daring and incisive of all British economists; Gibbon and Buckle, both outstanding historians of the modern epoch, Hobhouse, Rivers, Briffault, Gordon Childe and Ginsberg, outstanding sociologists, Bertrand Russell, the

world-celebrated mathematician and philosopher, H G Wells, the colourful portrayer of the socio-historical and naturo-historical process of evolution and the brilliant and imaginative writer of fascinating social novels; Bernard Shaw, the immortal master of social satire, Eddington and Jeans, both astronomers of world renown, Haldane, the world-celebrated biologist now an Indian citizen, Aldous and Julian Huxley, Levy, and Bernal, the world-renowned scientists, and others These giants of thought have, in different fields, enriched human knowledge and contributed to the building up of the rich modern world culture

The educated Indian, who studied English democratic literature and imbibed its democratic principles, felt inspired to rebel against the reactionary social institutions and world outlook of a bygone era, such as caste and authoritarian social philosophies which sought to enslave the individual and suppress his free initiative He also thought in terms of a free national existence of the Indian people on a democratic basis. This gave the Indian nationalist movement, the offspring of the colonial status of India under the British rule, a democratic objective The movement also developed on a democratic basis, on the basis of such principles and methods as election and elected committees and such demands as the widening of franchise, freedom of press, speech and association, representative government, executive responsible to the people, etc

The study of the English language thus provided an opportunity to study the social libertarian, natural-scientific and rationalist philosophical literature in that language This study helped to build up a democratic and rationalist outlook If the social libertarian philosophy became a weapon to achieve individual and national freedom, the rationalist philosophy became an instrument to liberate the mind from dark superstition, from the grip of a multitude of gods, and fatalism, and otherworldliness

Indian literature, both Hindu and Muslim, of pre-British era did not include any work on nationalism It was inevitable and can be historically explained by the fact that due to economic backwardness, the Indian people were not socially or politically integrated into a nation

The study of the English language unfolded the trea-

sures of democratic and nationalist thought crystallized in precious scientific works The study of these works clarified, made more vivid and even fanned into fire, the nascent nationalism of the educated Indians which grew out of the conditions of subjection in which the Indian people lived under the British rule

Further knowledge of the English language also brought within the reach of an educated Indian, the most vital portion of the scientific, philosophical, sociological, and literary-artistic achievements of non-English-speaking peoples.

Through English translations, he could study the philosophical systems of Democritus, Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Descartes, Leibnitz, Kant, Comte, Nietzche, Hegel, Max Stirner, Benedetto Croce, Oswald Spengler, Karl Marx He could also assimilate the social theories of Plato, Machiavelli Diderot, Holbach, Helvetius, Voltaire and other ideological lights of eighteenth century France and of Auguste Comte, Saint-Simon, socialist Marx and Engels, anarchist Bakunin, syndicalist Proudhon and others He could enrich his scientific knowledge by studying, through translations, the works of non-English-speaking mathematicians, physicists, and philosophers of world fame such as Einstein, Dirac, Schrodinger, and Heisenberg He could, through translations, enjoy the artistic creations of such non-English literary artists of the first rank as Chekhov, Dostoevski, Turgenev, Gogol, Maxim Gorky, Emile Zola, Balzac, Flaubert Guy De Maupassant, Anatole France, Victor Hugo, Moliere, Proust, Heine, Goethe, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Sanders and others Thus, an educated Indian through the study of English, could make the cultural achievements of the non-English-speaking peoples his property

This imbibing of world culture helped the educated Indian not only to reinforce his knowledge enormously but also to develop a world outlook and perspective It gave him a sense of unity of world development, a world sense He was able to get rid of the isolationist conception or rather misconception of the Indian social development He understood Indian national development as a part of world development He became free from the error that the Indian society had its own independent and special law of development and was unconnected with world development. Without losing sight

of national peculiarities, he recognized that the same laws which governed the development of other societies governed the Indian society also

The new political and economic environs, created by the British conquest and rule in India, posed before the Indians problems which were quite new and could not be solved by theories and methods which the old Indian culture provided For example, to solve the national economic tasks arising out of the new economic milieu such as greater industrialization of India and development of a prosperous agriculture, an Indian economist like Ranade, Gokhale, Gadgil, or K T Shah, turned to the theoretical works on economics of Adam Smtih, Ricardo, List, or Marx Neither Chanakya, the ancient author of Artha Shastra, nor Vyas, the immortal composer of Mahabharata, could arm him with theoretical means to solve modern economic problems

The intelligentsia exercises great ideological influence on the people In India, advanced intellectuals who imbibed modern scientific world knowledge through their study of English began to transmit it to their own people A number of them translated into various vernaculars, works of outstanding scientific value, literary artistic merit, and political, economic and sociological importance They also wrote independent books in vernaculars embodying thoughts and scientific information which they studied from the English books This increasingly helped the non-English-knowing literary section of the people to gather wide knowledge of the world Some of these intellectuals also spread new ideas and information even among the illiterate strata through talks and lectures This helped in the broadening of the vision and enriching of the knowledge of the common people.

The English language did a great service as a medium of communication for the educated Indians throughout India to exchange views, on a national scale, on different subjects of social, political and scientific interest It proved very valuable as a medium of expression at various national congresses and conferences· especially in the earlier stages.

The progressive role of the introduction of modern education in India and of the resultant contact with modern culture was strikingly proved by the fact that practically all leaders of progressive movements, economic, political, social,

religious, or cultural, belonged to the English-educated intelligentsia The pioneers and leaders of the ever expanding and deepening national movement were English-educatd Indians

Prerequisites of its Healthy Development

In spite of the growth of a modern intelligentsia and an educated middle class, an overwhelming portion of the Indian people, however, remained illiterate The principal reason for this was their great poverty. The liquidation of mass-illiteracy was, therefore, bound up with the problem of the removal of the mass poverty of the Indian people

This great poverty of the Indian people, as we have seen, was the product of the colonial character of Indian economy, the resultant low development of the productive forces of the Indian society and, further, the prevailing system of land and other economic relationships Elimination of mass poverty, therefore, implied national freedom, power in the hands of the mass of the Indian people instead of in those of vested interests, and a comprehensive plan of national socio-economic reconstruction Such a plan could be fully realized only if society owned the means of production The state of a free and economically prosperous country alone could evolve a financial budget such as could pay adequate attention to mass education and social services.

The problem of the complete solution of mass illiteracy and, further, the extensive spread of the rich scientific and artistic culture of the contemporary era among the Indian people was, thus, closely bound up with national feedom and an economic plan based on the social ownership of means of production

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CHAPTER X

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNIFICATION OF INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

Absence of Basic Political and Administrative Unity in Pre-British India

ONE OF the significant results of the British conquest of India was the establishment of a centralized state which brought about, for the first time in Indian history, a real and basic political and administrative unification of the country.

Such a unity was unknown in pre-British India, which was almost chronically divided into numerous feudal states, frequently struggling among themselves to extend their boundaries It is true that attempts were made by outstanding monarchs like Ashoka, Samudragupta and Akbar, to bring the whole of India under a single state regime and administrative system However, even when they succeeded in bringing a greater portion of India under their rule, the political and administrative unity achieved was of a nominal character only, since the legion of self-governing villages wherein the preponderant portion of the Indian population resided were not thereby affected In fact, these villages, from times immemorial, had been so many self-governing republics The village committee reinforced with the caste committees constituted the *de facto* government of the village population

'The villages had an organization designed to make them self-supporting and self-governing Their autonomy was part of a loosely organized system of government, in which the sovereign power left communal and local institutions to function independently, each in its limited sphere Each village co-ordinated the social activities of its inhabitants and was an independent unit [1]

The main reasons why effective political and administra-

tive unification of India in the pre-British period did not take place, were the absence of a unified national economy and efficient, well-ramified, and extensive means of communications. The history of the rise of centralized states in European countries shows how the growth of such state structures is closely bound up with the growth of unified national economies and the development of rapid and efficient means of communications [2]

It is true that a conception of unity of India existed and flourished in pre-British India. But this unity was conceived as the geographical unity of the country and the religio-cultural unity of the Hindus India was 'both a geographical and cultural continuum' [3]

As O'Malley remarked: 'Hinduism, in fact, produces certain unity between men who had no common language and who were socially atomized and politically divided, but who had common sympathies founded on the same religion' [4]

The concept of the political unity of the entire Indian people did not and could not emerge under the given socio-historical circumstances The people were not socially and economically integrated, they were, therefore, not integrated politically either

The British established a state structure in India which was of a distinctly new type It was highly centralized and ramified in the remotest corner of the country

Legal Unification

The British established a uniform reign of law in the country They enacted laws and codified them These laws were applicable to every citizen of the state and were enforced by a hierarchically graded system of tribunals which constituted the judicial section of the state Judicial officials appointed by the state interpreted and enforced the laws of the state incorporated into its various codes in every village, town, and city. There was thus established in the country a system of lower courts, district courts and high courts, finally culminating into the Federal Court and the Privy Council

In establishing the new system of law and tribunals, the British had to supersede the customary law which prevailed in pre-British India and expropriate village and caste com-

mittees of their power to enforce the customary law which further varied from place to place in the absence of a uniform system of law.

The legal system introduced by the British was on the whole equalitarian in contrast to the customary law prevalent in pre-British India which discriminated between caste and caste, community and community This was due to the fact that the customary law was governed by religion which sanctified hierarchially graded caste and other distinctions

The new legal system was based on the democratic conception of equality of all citizens before the laws of the state. In pre-British India, a Brahmin offender was meted out a lighter punishment than a non-Brahmin offender for the same offence Under the new law, all citizens, no matter what their caste or creed, were considered equal before law, the jurisdiction of which further covered the entire territory of the state Thus, the British brought about a legal unification of the Indian people on a democratic basis for the first time in Indian history, in spite of some discriminative legislation in favour of the Europeans

Administrative Unification

The British also accomplished another progressive act, namely the administrative unification of the country They established hierarchically graded public services which brought about the administrative unification of the country Thus were created, imperial, provincial, and subordinate services which formed the executive section of the centralized state In pre-British India, even when a monarch brought under his rule the major part of the country, a real basic administrative unification of the country did not take place since the representatives and officials of the monarch, stationed in different parts of the kingdom, did not generally concern themselves with the life of the people beyond collecting land revenue from the collective village, levying troops, securing tribute due to the emperor from the townspeople through their principal representative and guilds or sometimes attending to irrigation and road construction Caste and village committees were the *de facto* governments and administrative bodies so far as the individual village was concerned These

committees looked after the distribution of land among peasant families in the village, regulated relations between its members composed mainly of artisans and peasants, and attended to such matters as education, sanitation, adjudication of disputes, and others. The state only claimed its share of village produce and left its administration to the village community This was in contrast to the new administrative system inaugurated by the British under which the state expropriated the village and caste committees of their functions and powers and undertook the responsibility of the administration of the inner affairs of the village which was now carried on by the official appointed by it and responsible not to the village community but to the centralized state Thus, the self-governing village was transformed into a unit and a part of the single administrative system existing on a countrywide scale

The estalishment of British rule in India brought about an extensive and basic political, administrative, and legal unification of the country for the first time in Indian history Such a state structure became necessary to the new type of economy which came into existence in India under the British rule The capitalist economic transformation of India broke up the multitude of separate village economies, welded the Indian people economically, through a system of exchange relations, and made contract the key basis of their economic relations. The British government created a new land system on a private property basis and introduced money economy A uniform system of law had to be evolved to maintain and regulate the new land relations and contractual transactions such as purchase, sale, and mortgage of land resulting inevitably from the new system

Establishment of Uniform Currency System

Under the British rule, all production in the country became commodity production. India was also linked with the world market more extensively than before. Both the internal and foreign trade of India increased in volume and scope Further, modern industries on a capitalist basis steadily developed in the country. The new state had to enact a mass of laws to regulate the huge complex of contractual and other

relations inevitably arising from such an economic state Thus there came into existence a system of new laws, uniformly operating and governing all complex and multifold relations and transactions between the tenants and landlords, workers and employers, manufacturers, traders and bankers also laws determining the relations of India with other countries regarding perennially operating trade and other activities The new economy also necessitated the introduction of a uniform currency system in the country.

The new state made education its responsibility This became necessary since the new economy and administrative apparatus needed for their functioning a personnel trained in modern liberal, scientific, and technical education.

The new state established by the British unified India and the Indian people more comprehensively than any state during the pre-British period The Indian people, for the first time, found a substantial sector of their economic and social life coming under the governance of a universally and equally operating system of law

Unification, its Chief Defects

Though the British rule in India accomplished the political, legal, and administrative unification of the Indian people, there were a number of defects and limitations in the unification carried out We will enumerate the chief among them.

First, though the process of bringing Indian territory more and more directly under a single state rule of the British continued till 1857, the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in that year declared the new policy of the British Crown which took over the government of India from the East India Company, of abandoning further annexation of the state territories of the surviving feudal princes The surviving states which could have been liquidated by superior British power were perpetuated and transformed into so many reliable props of British ascendancy in India

The perpetuation of the numerous, petty and big feudal states, had however the effect of restricting the historically progressive process of the political and administrative unification of India under a single state India was divided into

two parts, one governed by the princes, the other by the British government Coupland made the following observation regarding this 'Thus India was divided into two distinct parts, in which the basis and form of government were quite different'[5] Coupland further remarked. 'This division between the Indian states and British India defies geography . the states are scattered haphazard over the map Here and there, the British territory is closely interlaced with theirs'[6]

Though these states were mostly ruled by autocratic princes, their economic structures experienced a transformation. They generally introduced the new land and revenue system which was established in British India The self-sufficient and self-governing village almost became extinct in the territories of these states also A few advanced states like Baroda, Mysore, and Travancore, introduced even the administrative system almost on the model of that operating in British India They also established a uniform system of law and created courts to enforce laws However, these states represented so many distinct governments and administrations and remained demarcated both from British India and from one another

Another characteristic of the political and administrative unification of British India was that the state machinery which accomplished this historically progressive act, had been evolved, in various stages, in accordance with constitutions which were the creations of different Acts of the British Parliament These constitutions which shaped the state structure of British India were not decided by a Constituent Assembly composed of the elected representatives of the Indian people. As a result of this, the British government in India remained legally and technically responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India and not to the Indian people whom it governed This constituted the inevitable undemocratic feature of the state structure established by the British in India

The defects enumerated above were the inevitable consequences of the fact that the new state was, historically, the offspring of the British conquest of India It was primarily and basically designed to meet the requirements and subserve the political, economic, and strategic interests of British capitalism Hence, along with certain historically progres-

sive features, it also inevitably exhibited and suffered from basic and vital limitations and defects

This contradiction, namely that of a foreign state governing a native population, was one of the main factors which gave rise to the Indian nationalist movement

'The presence of the British in India did not stimulate Indian national consciousness simply by bringing all Indians under an effective common government, and by making accessible Western ideas The incursion of an alien race, themselves imbued with a strong consciousness of nationality and of colour, had its customary effect in stimulating a similar consciousness among their subjects. .

' the British rule did not merely make the Indians aware that they possessed characteristics in common, it also provided them with common interests and common grievances'[7]

The Indian people, as they became politically conscious, organized movements to secure demands like administrative reforms, Indianization of the Services, representative institutions, elimination of racial discrimination, franchise, elected legislatures, and executives responsible to these legislatures, civil liberties, a Constitution on lines of self-governing colonies, and finally a Constituent Assembly as the sole authority to shape the constitution for the Indian people *

In fact, these demands sought to democratize the state machinery and to transfer, in varying degrees, administrative initiative and political power from the British to the Indian people Thus the national movement became essentially a democratic movement

It is to be noted that the nationalist movement desired

* The Indian Nationalist Movement had a multi-class basis and was directed against the British foreign rule Each social group or class put forth demands which reflected its interests and aspiraions These groups, generally, however united for such demands as civil liberties, Swaraj and others, which were of common interest

While the Indian Nationalist Movement had reached a stage when it had put forth the demand of Independence or a sovereign state existence for the Indian people, various political groups representing different classes had their own conception of the nature of the future state structure of India Barring the Muslim League which stood for the division of India into Hindu and Muslim sovereign states, other political groups and organizations desired to preserve the single state existence of the Indian people accomplished by Britain (though granting the right of self-determination to nationalities) However, while some of them visualized a democratic Indian state based on modern capitalist economy, others like the All-India Trade Union Congress and socialist groups stood for a socialist state based on socialist economy

to retain the political and administrative unification of India, accomplished by the British, which represented a historical advance of Indian society It did not aim at the resuscitation of the self-governing village and the general political and administrative disunity of pre-British feudal India The Indian nationalists aimed at putting the state structure on a democratic basis. Its most progressive section finally set, as the objective, Independence in terms of a sovereign state existence for the Indian people

References

1 O'Malley, pp 3-4
2 Refer Carr
3 O'Malley, p 1
4 ibid, p 1
5 Coupland, p 7
6 ibid, p 14
7 Carr, p 153

CHAPTER XI

RISE OF NEW SOCIAL CLASSES IN INDIA

Uneven Emergence of New Social Classes

THE EMERGENCE of new social classes in India was the direct consequence of the establishment of a new social economy, a new type of state system and a state administrative machinery, and the spread of new education during the British rule.[1]

These classes were unknown to past Indian society, since they were primarily the offspring of the new capitalist economic structure which developed in India as a result of the British conquest and the impact on her of the British and world economy The Indian people were reshuffled into new social groupings, new classes, as a result of the basic capitalist economic transformation of Indian society

The process of the rise of new social classes in different parts of the country and among various communities was, however, an uneven one This was due to the fact that the new social economy spread, both in time and tempo, unevenly, since this spread depended on the growth of political power of Britain in India (The conquest of India by Britain resulting in the economic transformation which it led to, was not a single simultaneous event. India was subdued by Britain by instalments and through stages Different parts of the country became more or less economically transformed on the new capitalist basis in sequence of their political subjugation Hence, new social classes came into being earlier in those zones which came under British influence earlier Bengal was among the first prizes which fell to Britain and where the British Government created, for the first time in Indian history, private property in land in the shape of Zemindari

Therefore, it was in Bengal that two of the new social classes, the zemindars and the tenants, came first into existence It was also in Bengal and Bombay, that the first industrial enterprises such as jute and cotton factories were started leading thereby to the emergence of such new classes as industrialists and proletariat Further, it was for the same reason that in these provinces Britain established a complex, well ramified, administrative system and introduced new educational institutions imparting knowledge in modern sciences such as modern medicine, law, etc thereby leading to the growth of the professional classes first here [2]

However, as the British conquest of India finally enveloped the entire country, the new social economy, administrative system, and modern education spread all over India and gave rise to new social classes on a national scale.

The process of the rise of new social classes among different communities was also an uneven one This was due to the fact that certain communities were engaged, in the pre-British period, in definite economic, social, or educational vocations For instance, in pre-British society, mainly the Banyas were traders and shroffs, and the Brahmins, the custodians of education among the Hindus In the new social environment, the Banyas were among the first groups (another being the Parsis) to take to modern capitalist commerce and banking and develop into new social classes, namely the commercial and financial bourgeoisie Similarly, the Brahmins were among the first to study and assimilate the modern education introduced by the British government and project a modern intelligentsia and an educated middle class The upper strata of the Muslim community in the pre-British period, were, on the whole, divorced from medieval trade or moneylending and were mainly engaged in military and administrative careers. Further, they predominantly resided in Northern India which came under British rule much later The vast Muslim population of Bengal mainly belonged to the poorer classes. Hence a modern intelligentsia, a modern educated middle class and a bourgeoisie, on a substantial scale, sprang from within the Muslim community later than from within the Hindu community [3] (See Chapters IX and XIX)

New Social Classes

We will next enumerate the new social classes which evolved in the Indian society during the British rule In agrarian areas these were principally (1) zemindars created by the British government; (2) absentee landlords, (3) tenants under zemindars and absentee landlords, (4) the class of peasant proprietors divided into upper, middle and lower strata (5) agricultural labourers, (6) the modern class of merchants and (7) the modern class of moneylenders

In the urban areas, these were principally (1) the modern class of capitalists, industrial, commercial and financial, (2) the modern working class engaged in industrial, transport, mining, and such other enterprises, (3) the class of petty traders and shopkeepers bound up with modern capitalist economy; (4) the professional classes such as technicians, doctors, lawyers, professors, journalists, managers, clerks and others, comprising the intelligentsia and the educated middle class

Forces leading to their Emergence

Primarily, the new classes came into existence as a result of the basic economic transformation brought about by various acts of the British government (such as the new type of land relations), the penetration of Indian society by commercial and other forces from the outside capitalist world, and the establishment of modern industries in India

The introduction of private property in land in the form of Zemindari and Ryotwari by the British government brought into being the new classes of large estate owners, the zemindars, and peasant proprietors Further, the creation of the right to lease land brought into being such classes as tenants and sub-tenants, the creation of the right to purchase and sell land together with the right to hire and employ labour on land, created conditions for the growth of the class of absentee landlords and that of the agricultural proletariat.

As Marx wrote in 1853: 'The Zemindari and Ryotwari systems were both of them agrarian revolutions effected by British ukases, and opposed to each other; the one aristocratic, the other democratic, the one a caricature of the English

landlordism, the other of French peasant-proprietorship, but pernicious, both combining the most contradictory characters, both made not for the people who cultivate the soil, not for the holder who owns it, but for the government that taxes it'.[4]

As a logical working out of the new agrarian-economic system, a hierarchy of intermediaries developed between the zemindar and the cultivating tenant in the zemindari zones, and a chain of intermediaries, namely moneylenders, absentee landlords, and merchants, grew up between the cultivating peasant and the state in the Ryotwari area Due to the operation of causes enumerated in the chapter on agriculture, a large class of capitalist landlords similar to that in England and the U S A. or a preponderant class of economically stable and flourishing peasant proprietors similar to that in France, did not evolve in India[5]

Instead, along with the classes of zemindars, tenants, peasant proprietors, and land labourers, there developed in the agrarian area, on an increasing scale, such groups as modern moneylenders, merchants who were intermediaries between the peasants and the market, and absentee landlords interested only in securing rent These classes and groups were unknown in pre-British Indian society

Though the classes of moneylenders and merchants existed in the rural area in pre-British India, their function and position in the old economy were substantially different from those in the new economy The moneylender in the old Indian society played almost an insignificant role He occasionally lent money to the village agriculturist or artisan, the interest strictly fixed by the village panchayat. Further, the moneylender could not annex the land or livestock in case a farmer did not meet the interest claim since the land belonged to the village community Similarly, the village merchant, in old society, only reinforced the village with a few articles which it could not produce His role was, however, magnified, even became transformed, when the new land system was introduced, when land became private property and agricultural produce became a commodity The merchant became indispensable to the peasant as an intermediary for the sale of his crop in the Indian or world market[6]

Since their roles were transformed, the classes of mod-

ern merchants and moneylenders in agrarian areas might be described as new classes linked up with the new capitalist economy and performing functions quite different from those which they performed in the social economy of medieval pre-British Indian society. The modern commercial bourgeoisie was also a new evolution.

Under the British rule, all production in India, rural or urban, agricultural or industrial, became production for the market. As a result of this, the internal market expanded and a large class of traders engaged in internal trade grew Also during the British period, India became linked up with the world market far more extensively than before This led to the growth of a large class of merchants whose function was to export and import goods from and into India Thus came into being the class of commercial bourgeoisie, engaged in extensive internal and external trade, in the country.

It is true that, in pre-British India, both internal and foreign trade existed but their volume and scope as observed earlier were limited As a result of this, the merchant class in pre-British India, engaged both in internal and foreign trade, was extremely small Its significance and specific weight in the country economy also was not very great

The new commercial classes which grew out of the new economic situation were of a different type from their counterparts in pre-British India. The new merchant classes traded in all production, rural and urban, agricultural and industrial in the country. They purchased agricultural produce from the zemindars, tenants, and peasant proprietors, and sold it in Indian and international markets. They purchased industrial goods from the owners of modern industrial enterprises and likewise sold them in the Indian and world markets While, in pre-British India, the role of the merchant class was small since the overwhelming proportion of the country's products was outside the scope of the market, the role of the modern and new commercial class of India became an imposing one[7]

The establishment of railways and accumulation of profits and savings in the hands of the Indian trading class, a section of zemindars and wealthy members of the professional classes, which could serve as capital, led to the rise of Indian-owned textile, mining, and other industries and the growth of the new class of industrial bourgeoisie in the country. Along

with this class inevitably emerged the new class of modern proletariat in India. Indian society now included in its composition such new groups as mill-owners, mine-owners, and other owners of new capitalist enterprises, also such groups as factory workers, mine workers, railway workers, workers on the plantations These classes and groups did not and could not exist in pre-British Indian society since there did not exist modern factories, mines, plantations, or railways

Thus with the growth of modern industries in India, the new classes of the modern bourgeoisie and the working class came into existence.[8]

Indian industries were established and developed at a rapid rate only in the later decades of the nineteenth century and thereafter The industrial bourgeoisie and the working class grew in number, in proportion as these industries developed

The professional classes comprising modern lawyers, doctors, teachers and professors associated with modern educational institutions, managers and clerks working in modern commercial and other enterprises, officials functioning in state administrative machinery, engineers, chemist, technologist, agronomists, journalists and others, formed another new social group which evolved in Indian society during the British period. The new economic, social, and state systems required, as personnel, cadres of educated Indians, versed in modern law, technology, medicine, economics, administrative science, and other subjects In fact, it was mainly due to the pressing need of the new commercial enterprises and the administrative system which prompted the British government to inaugurate modern education and establish, on an increasing scale, modern educational institutions in India Schools and colleges imparting legal, commercial and general liberal education, were started to meet the needs of the new state and society Thus there came into existence, in steadily expanding numbers as this society developed, the modern professional classes in India.[9] Such social groups linked up with modern industry, agriculture, commerce, finance, administration, press, and other sections of the new social life, were unknown to pre-British society since such a social, economic, and class system did not then exist

In pre-British India, village panchayats and caste committees performed all judicial, administrative, and even economic

functions in the legion of villages. The village intelligentsia was almost exclusively composed of the village priest and schoolmaster who were the servants of the village community and looked after the religious-cultural and secular-cultural interests of the people In the cities lived highly learned pundits and maulanas, great artists and literateurs, astronomers and astrologers, vaidyas and hakims proficient in medical knowledge then existing, and artisans and mechanics embodying knowledge and skill of their respective crafts These groups, however, flourished under the patronage of princes, nobles, and wealthy merchants, and mainly responded to the needs of their patrons They were, in general, not public practitioners of their skill the advantage of which could be had by the population at large Their artistic, scientific, and technical capacities, were, in the main, annexed to their royal and other masters.[10]

Modern professional classes which developed on the basis of the requirements of the new society and the spread of the rich modern western culture and education in India during the British rule, contrasted sharply with these groups of pre-British India Economically, their knowledge and skill, artistic, scientific, or technical, could be at the disposal of any citizen who could pay for it Socially they became an integral part of the new capitalist society which evolved in India Further, these professional classes were trained in modern knowledge, in modern western sciences and arts. They were lawyers who studied and practised the new jurisprudence and laws enacted by the British government, doctors who studied modern medicine; engineers who became acqainted with modern technological science; teachers and professors who studied and taught advanced modern social, political, economic, natural, and other sciences, which developed in the west. They were journalists and writers who edited papers and published books which were sold in the market and the content of which was consumed by thousands of people. They were managers and officials who staffed the enormous and complex economic and administrative state machinery of a politically and economically unified India and tackled complex problems affecting the life of the whole nation This was, in fact, a new social group evolved in the Indian society, to be distinguished from its meagre counterpart in pre-British India where the specific

talent and capacity of a schoolmaster, a physician, or an artist, were low and, further, were also a monopoly of the royal or other patron, or at the disposal of a small village community.

In addition to the new classes enumerated above, there existed in the urban area, in every town and city, a big class of petty traders and shopkeepers which had developed with the growth of modern cities and towns.

Surviving Old Classes, Their Changed Position

Though the social economy of India had been transformed from a medieval to a modern capitalist basis (which represented a historical advance of Indian society) during the British period, this transformation had not been so thorough and intensive as in countries like France, England or the U S A The factors explaining this thwarted development have been mentioned in a previous section dealing with Indian economy

As a result of the insufficient industrial development, remnants of the old economy such as pre-capitalist handicrafts and village artisan industries survived in the country Corresponding to these remnants of the old economy, classes of pre-capitalist Indian society—village artisans, urban handicraftsmen—also survived and coexisted with new classes in India

It is, however, to be noted that these remnants of old classes were not identical, in function and characteristics, with the old classes of the pre-British period Environed by the general capitalist milieu, they bore a number of new features. For instance, the village artisans—a class which was still numerous—did not work as the servants of the village community as in the past but usually brought their goods to the market. Similarly the urban handicraftsmen, who still existed in good number, did not work specifically for princes, nobles, or wealthy merchants as in the past They also brought the products of their skill to the general market However, in technique and often even in organization, they retained the old characteristics

The class of Indian princes, pretty and big, ruling over about one-third of the Indian territory was another class of the pre-British Indian society, which also survived Its survival was due to the decision of the British government to perpetuate it for political reasons These princes maintained royal courts,

held feudal functions, maintained the paraphernalia of the old feudal regime. However, they had to be distinguished from the pre-British princes in some salient features A great majority of them had no sovereign powers; all vital functions and powers of their states were taken over or were controlled by the paramount British power The economic structures on which these states were based, were also on the whole fundamentally different from those on which the pre-British states rested. In fact, in spite of the survival of some remnants of the old economy and social relations like serfdom, basically the economies of these states became an integral part of the national economy of India

A modern legal system was introduced in advanced states though absolutism also prevailed in a number of them.

Democratic liberties did not exist or existed in a very curtailed form in these states This handicap retarded the social, economic, and cultural development of the inhabitants

Due to these reasons, Indian princes who governed these states could not be considered to be the same as the old class of princes in pre-British India. Though the states were not as yet, economically, socially, politically, or culturally, modernized, still they were also not the replica of those which existed in the pre-British period.[11]

The Indian princes also were not a pure class of medieval nobles who lived on revenue mostly derived from land A number of these princes invested their money in modern commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises even in territory outside their state frontiers. To that extent, these princes were transformed into modern capitalists bound up with the new capitalist economy

The Indian princes, modified survivals of the old class of princes of pre-British society, coexisted with the new classes which evolved in Indian society.

The survival of the remnants of old classes, even though existing in a modified form alongside the new classes, made the Indian society a complicated organism with extremely variegated and antagonistic social forces struggling for their respective interests within it The Indian people became a motley crowd composed of numerous old and new classes Social groups belonging to various societies, past and present, constituted the new Indian society. Corresponding to this, old

outlooks, which were the world conceptions of past epochs, interpenetrated modern outlooks which sprang from the basic modern social soil This was one of the reasons which explained the slow growth of national consciousness and national unity among the Indian people

We will now briefly refer to the interests, traits, problems, programmes, organizations, and movements of the important among these new classes

Zemindars: their Interests and Organizations

As seen before, the class of zemindars had been largely the creation of the British government[12] N. N Ghosh writes 'The zemindars with whom the Permanent Settlement was made, were an aristocracy manufactured by Lord Cornwallis. They were entirely the creatures of the state'[13] Due to such genesis, the zemindars, on the whole, always supported the British government and opposed it only when their Zemindari rights were in any way encroached upon The British government, on its part, counted upon them as a reliable loyal force and treated them with favour. 'Sir Lawrence showed the Talookdars all the attention and consideration in his power'[14] Lord Lytton frankly stated that the conservative forces of the Indian society including the landed aristocracy should serve as the support of the British rule in India (see Chapter X) In various reforms and constitutional schemes introduced by the British government, the zemindars were given special representation (see Chapter X) and the political weight of this class was thrown on the side of the British government, either in the struggle of the latter in legislatures or outside against the nationalist forces. The landed aristocracy almost always supported the government when the Indian National Congress, under Liberals, Extremists or Gandhi, put forth demands for democratic rights, administrative reforms or Swaraj, and organized struggles, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary, to back up these demands (see Chapter XVIII) This was due to the fact that the landed aristocracy apprehended that any democratic transformation, social, political, or economic, would jeopardize its class interests and even class existence

The zemindars were, on the whole, conservative and unenterprising They formed their principal organization, the

British Indian Association, in 1851 E S Montagu described this organization in his *Indian Diary*, published in 1930, thus: 'The British Indian Association (is) more or less a conservative body headed by the Maharaja of Burdwan, the best type of conservative Indian . He has a fierce love of the British connection—not a passive acquiescence, but a firm belief in it He is a large and very rich zemindar, and wishes to be made an independent chief '[15]

The Indian princes were the first to be associated with the state apparatus established by Britain in India. In 1862, the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Benares were nominated to the Governor-General's Legislative Council. The next group of nomination consisted of zemindars. About this, K. B Krishna writes 'A group of nomination can be drawn as it were beginning with the rajas, zemindars, retired officials, merchants and professional classes '[16]

The zemindars took, on the whole, an anti-democratic stand, on vital questions affecting the life of the Indian people. B. C Pal writes· 'To protest against the Press Act of Lytton, the Indian Association convened a public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta at the town hall The British Indian Association, representing the Bengal zemindars, refused to join the meeting But, the educated middle class, not only of Calcutta and Bengal but practically of the other provinces also, fully supported this protest of the Indian Association.'[17]

Since the zemindars appropriated a good proportion of income from land, the economic condition of the mass of tenants in the Zemindari zones steadily deteriorated While the latter were increasingly impoverished, agriculture also, for lack of proper manure, seeds, etc , increasingly decayed. The nationalists as well as British statesmen recognized the precarious position of agrarian economy in the Zemindari area and the alarming poverty of the tenant population

The critics of landed aristocracy, Indian and foreign, remarked that the zemindars did not play any productive role in the Indian economy They stood for the rationalization if not the elimination of the Zemindari. They considered this as one of the indispensable prerequisites for the renovation and development of Indian agriculture on which the economic position of a great majority of the Indian population depended [18]

Socially, the class of zemindars, on the whole, opposed

far-reaching social reform The Maharaja of Darbhanga declared in favour of the perpetuation of the anti-democratic caste system on the ground that the caste system was the best and surest safeguard against forces which menaced civilization (see Chapter XIV 'The Crusade against the Caste System') While a few enlightened zemindars supported and assisted the movement for democratic social progress, as a class they took an attitude of reactionary opposition to it Classes connected with landed property or nations who live on agriculture have been generally conservative in contrast to commercial and industrial communities. In his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Tawney remarks· 'The psychology of a nation which lives predominantly by the land is in sharp contrast with that of a commercial society In the latter, when all goes well, continuous expansion is taken for granted as the rule of life, new horizons are constantly opening, and the catchword of politics is the encouragement of enterprise. In the former, the number of niches into which each successive generation must be fitted is strictly limited; movement means disturbance .. and the object of statesmen is, not to foster individual initiative, but to prevent social dislocation'[19]

The Indian zemindars exhibited this attitude of antagonism to reform and progress with a special emphasis

As the nationalist movement developed with a programme of democratic reorganization of the Indian society and as subsequently the movement of peasants, tenants, and land labourers grew, the zemindars more than ever, looked to the British government for the protection of their interests and rights Through their own organizations, they asked for appropriate representation in the legislatures.

Tenants Their Interests and Organizations

The creation of Zemindari simultaneously engendered the class of tenants in India The tenants were rackrented, impoverished, and suffered from oppression at the hands of the zemindars

In course of time, a series of intermediaries developed between the zemindar and the cultivating tenant whose condition thereby increasingly deteriorated The Bengal Tenancy Acts of 1859 and 1885 aimed at ameliorating the position of the

tenant However, the legislation did not accomplish much The mass of tenants continued to live in an increasingly worsening condition

In addition to the class of tenants in the Zemindari tracts, a new class of tenants also grew in the Ryotwari areas Due to the progressive impoverishment among the peasant proprietors, land steadily passed from the hands of the latter to those of absentee landlords.

Gradually an awakening started taking place among the tenants in various provinces[20] In the U P , Bihar, Bengal, and other areas, they formed their tenants' unions or joined kisan sabhas which sprang up and which were composed of peasants, tenants, and land labourers—of all those who worked on the land These tenants' unions and kisan sabhas formulated the specific grievances and demands of the tenants and even organized movements to back up these demands Since the organizers of these unions, sabhas, and movements were staunch nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru, Professor N G Ranga and Swami Sahajanand, the tenants along with other categories of those who worked on the land, came under the influence of nationalist propaganda and increasingly joined the nationalist movement under their own flag and with their own class demands. The nationalist spirit began to percolate steadily to the economically and culturally backward tenants The kisan sabhas and tenants' unions began to be critical not only of the British government but also of the Indian National Congress which, according to them, was on the whole, solicitous of looking after the interests of the zemindars. They formulated their programme of demands such as reduction of rent, abolition of the practice of illegal dues extorted by the zemindars, rackrenting etc Kisan sabhas even described the Zemindari system itself as wasteful, inefficient, iniquitous, and against national interests

Peasant Proprietors Their Subdivisions, Interests, and Organizations

The creation of property in land in the form of Ryotwari engendered the class of peasant proprietors in India, which was broadly divided into three main categories according to the economic strength, viz , the upper, middle, and lower strata

of peasant proprietors As a result of the operation of factors like heavy land tax, small holdings, fragmentation of plots, growing heavy indebtedness, and others enumerated before, this class had been increasingly impoverished since it came into existence. It had been in a state of permanent disintegration. A process of differentiation was constantly at work within it, a meagre minority of the mass of peasant proprietors ascending to the level of rich peasants while a large number falling into the ranks of the poor peasants, tenants of the absentee landlords, or land labourers This process of differentiation grew at an accelerated rate since the rate of impoverishment of the peasantry increased This led to the increasing passing of land from the hands of the peasant proprietors into those of moneylenders, merchants, or others, who formed the new class of absentee landlords The middle stratum of the peasantry was steadily dissolving and its number diminishing as growing impoverishment constantly drove a section of its members into the ranks of lower peasantry or even paupers or agricultural proletariat As seen in the chapter on agriculture, both the classes of absentee landlords and agricultural proletariat grew at a high and geometrical rate in India in subsequent years

The peasant proprietors developed national consciousness earlier than the tenants. This was due to the fact that the peasant proprietors were directly linked up with and had directly to deal with the state to which it paid the land tax while the tenants came into conflict with the zemindars over the question of rent and not with the state

There was another reason which explained why the peasant proprietors acquired national consciousness earlier than the tenants The Indian National Congress led by Gandhi was dominated by the Gandhian ideology of class harmony and formed its programme, on the whole, in the spirit of that ideology[21] According to that view, the zemindars and tenants were Indians and any programme which would take up and fight for the demands of the tenants would thereby only betray partisanship of that class and antagonize the zemindars, resulting in damage to the national united front of all classes in the struggle for Swaraj However, the growth of the Kisan movement exerted some pressure on the Indian National Congress which, under that pressure, formulated a programme of demands for the tenants Swami Sahajanand, Professor N G

Ranga, Indulal Yagnik, and other leaders of the Kisan movement, however, criticized the Congress leadership for not enthusiastically working for that programme and even asserted that in Bihar and a number of other provinces, the right wing leaders holding the Gandhian viewpoint allied with the zemindars against the tenants They further pointed out how the Congress government even used coercive state power against the legitimate struggles of the tenants [22]

Indian Kisans, Their Principal Movements

We will next briefly refer to the principal movements and organizations of the Indian kisans—peasant proprietors, tenants, and land labourers—during the British period

It was after 1918 that the kisans began to develop political consciousness, take part in organized national struggles and subsequently even build up their own organizations under their own flag and programme, and organized struggles for the fulfilment of that programme under their own leadership

There had, however, taken place before 1918, a number of peasant movements which were spontaneous, spasmodic, and having limited and local economic aims

The period between 1870 and 1897 was interspersed with severe famines in India, among which those of 1870, 1896, and 1897, were most devastating This led to great misery among the kisans in affected areas Periodically occurring economic depressions also led to great hardships among them As a result of this, occasional kisan struggles broke out against the zemindars, moneylenders, and the government

In 1870, the Bengal tenants were hit hard by the economic depression accentuating their general poverty Thousands of them 'came to consciously refuse rents, disobey the dictates of courts, obstruct their eviction and finally to fight with whatever weapons were available . . A regular state of anarchy came to prevail in a large part of Bengal and Santal countryside ' The rising was quelled by the government which, however, appointed an Inquiry Committee and subsequently enacted the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885

The slump in cotton prices after the end of the Civil War in America hit the Indian kisans hard Their debt burden as a result became very heavy and, in the Deccan in 1875, the

Maratha peasants rose against the moneylenders who, with the aid of Courts, threatened them with eviction They raided the houses of moneylenders, destroyed documents of debts and even killed some of them The riot was quelled The government, however, recognized the necessity of relief to the peasants and passed the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act in 1879

A revolt of the peasants threatened with loss of their land to the moneylenders took place in the Punjab in the last decade of the nineteenth century. To ease the situation, the government enacted the Punjab Alienation Act in 1902-3.

During the time of Lord Curzon, a Resolution of the Government of India on Land Revenue Policy was adopted aiming at protecting the tenants from the heavy pressure of the demands of the zemindars.

The Indian National Congress 'did not lay as much stress on the need for relief for our peasants during 1905-19 as it did on the needs of Indian industrialists', such as protection, etc [23] Especially, the Indian nationalists, on the whole, avoided reference to the mass of tenants living under the Zemindari 'Lord Curzon's challenge to Romesh Chandra Dutt, an ex-president of the Congress, that it was the government which had done more to protect tenants from the rapacity of the zemindars remained unanswered.'[24]

In 1917-18 the struggle of the peasants of Champaran in Bihar, led by Gandhi, against the indigo planters, most of whom were Europeans, took place, where Gandhi employed his method of Satyagraha. The government appointed an Inquiry Committee with Gandhi as a member and, on the basis of the report published by it, it enacted a law which brought partial relief to the kisans. N. G Ranga, who was critical of Gandhi's leadership of the struggle, remarked. 'Just as the earlier Congress agitation led by Romesh Chandra Dutt against temporary settlements did not embrace the exploitation of our peasants by zemindars, so also this agitation led by the Mahatma in Champaran did not lead up to any fight against the main causes for the terrible poverty and sufferings of Champaran peasants, namely the excessive rents and exorbitant incidence of debts. . It does strike us rather significant that both he (Gandhi) and Rajen Prasad should have remained scrupulously silent upon the ravages of the zemindari system. . .'[25]

Thereafter, Gandhi organized the Satyagraha movement of peasants in Kaira against the collection of land revenue which they could not pay due to failure of crops

These were some of the main kisan struggles before the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1919 The struggles lacked a political content and were often anarchic

Sections of Indian kisans were roused to political consciousness during the Non-Co-operation Movement The Indian National Congress gave a slogan of non-payment of land revenue which had a great effect The peasants interpreted the political struggle for Swaraj in terms of a struggle against the heavy land tax and sections of them sympathized with, supported, and participated in the movement. It was the first participation of a section of Indian peasants in an organized political movement

During the period of the Non-Co-operation Movement, peasant struggles which were not organized by the Congress also broke out, such as the struggles in the Guntur District, Karnatak, and Oudh Rent Act of 1921 which partially met the demands of the peasants was enacted by the government

The Moplah Rebellion of 1922 had both communal and economic roots The economic discontent of the Moplahs, who were mainly Muslim agriculturists intensely exploited by the Nambudris who were Brahmin landlords in Malabar, was canalized by the Muslim communalists into communal channels with the result that a revolt, predominantly economic in content but religious in form, broke out leading to tragic loss of life and property

It frequently happened in India that, where the Hindus were landlords and the Muslims were peasants, often due to instigation of communalists, economic class conflict between them assumed communal forms

Two more peasant struggles, one that of the Koyas in the Narsipatan Taluka, led by Sitaram Raju, and the other that of the peasantry of Sitapur, Rai Barelli and other districts in the U P, may also be mentioned. These struggles were, however, spontaneous in character, bearing striking resemblance to those of the nineteenth century.

It was after the end of the Non-Co-operation Movement that the process of the formation of independent class organizations of the Indian kisans started Ryots' associations and

agricultural and labour unions were formed in Andhra in 1923 Kisan sabhas were started in some parts of the Punjab, Bengal, and the U P in 1926-7 In 1928, representatives of the Bihar and U P Kisan sabhas presented a memorandum to the All-Parties Conference presided over by Motilal Nehru, which embodied such demands as universal franchise, fundamental democratic rights and national independence

The Andhra Provincial Ryot's Association was started in 1928

Two struggles of the peasantry of the Bardoli District in Gujarat broke out, one in 1928-9 and the other in 1930-1 The first was led by Vallabhbhai Patel and its success in persuading the government to concede most of the demands gave a strong impetus to the peasant movement

In 1930, Gandhi the absolute leader of the Congress, submitted his Eleven Points to the British government as a compromise. He was criticized by the left nationalists and socialists for not including in the Eleven Points the vital demands of the Indian working class and peasantry though they included the most crying grievances of the Indian capitalists [26] N G Ranga remarked 'Mahatmajee should certainly have asked for a considerable reduction of rents charged by zemindars, redemption of our agricultural indebtedness a minimum wage for our labour, nationalization of our key industries . But he would not do it consistently with his class collaboration convictions and his anxiety not to divide our people into two political groups basing their difference on economic interests '[27]

The world agrarian and general economic crisis which occurred in 1929 hit the Indian peasantry hard They were in a state of ferment Sections of them participated in demonstrations and meetings organized by the Congress There were peasant movements in the U P , Andhra, Gujarat, Karnatak, and other parts of the country, both authorized by the Congress and unauthorized.[28]

The process of independent organization of the kisans as a class gathered momentum after the end of the Civil Disobedience Movement An impression grew among the radical nationalists and advanced elements in the kisan movement that the Congress leadership was solicitous of the interests of the capitalists and landed magnates

They felt that, to safeguard the interests of the kisans, their independent class organizations and leadership must be evolved They also thought that the national struggle for Swaraj could be successful only if the kisans were drawn into its orbit, by taking up their own class demands The Congress Socialists Party, Communist groups, and Left Nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru, stressed the necessity of forming kisan organizations in the country

The kisan movements began to gather strength in the 'thirties of the present century. The first Indian Kisan School to train active kisan workers in the method of carrying on propaganda and organizational work was started at Nidubrole in 1938 The Madras Presidency Ryot's Association was formed in 1935 The Madras Presidency Agriculturists' Association was organised in 1937

There were also attempts to organize the kisans on a communal basis Sir Abdur Rahim and Faz-lul-Huq started in Bengal the Praja Party to muster the Muslim kisans The party subsequently changed its name into Krishik Proja Party It adopted a programme of agrarian reform and even abolition of the Zemindari system The party gained considerable strength among the Muslim peasantry of Bengal

The Bihar Kisan Sabha which was started in 1927 developed into an extensive organization after 1934. This was due to the effort of Swami Sahajanand Sarswati Bihar Kisan Sabha had been perhaps the strongest section of the All-India Kisan Sabha which was subsequently formed

The Provincial Kisan Sabha was formed in the U P. in 1935 with a programme which included the demands for the abolition of the Zemindari system.

Kisan sabhas also began to spring up in other parts of the country.

The government passed a number of relief measures to alleviate the conditions of the kisans. In the U P, five Debt Relief Acts were passed in 1934; in the Punjab, the Regulation of Accounts Act was passed in 1934, in Bengal, the Moneylenders Act was passed in 1933 and the Relief of Indebtedness Act in 1935 Since even this legislation did not appreciably improve the position of the kisans, their discontent continued to grow and find expression in the growth of the kisan movement

The first All-India Kisan Congress which met at Lucknow in 1935 decided that the Congress should be established as the supreme kisan organization in the country Jawaharlal Nehru expressed strong sympathies and support for this Congress

The establishment of the All-India Kisan Congress, though not enveloping the entire kisan population of India, was an event of great historical significance For the first time in the history of the Indian people, an all India organization of the Indian peasantry came into existence with a programme of common demands and expressing the aspirations of the entire kisan humanity of this vast land It revealed the birth of a new higher consciousness and a wider perspective which transcended the mere local perspective existing in the pre-British India among the rural population

The All-India Kisan Sabha carried on wide educative and propaganda work among the Indian kisans It also extended its organization in the country The All-India Kisan Sabha asked for collective affiliation to the Indian National Congress. The Congress, however, did not agree to the suggestion.

On the eve of the elections for provincial legislatures held under the New Constitution in 1937, the Indian National Congress published an Election Manifesto which embodied democratic demands for civil liberties and a social economic programme of radical improvement of the conditions of the kisans The votes of the agrarian population, who were enthused by the manifesto, in favour of Congress candidates, played an important role in their successes at the polls

The Congress governments which were subsequently established in a number of provinces, however, failed to meet the obligations made to the kisans. They passed some agrarian legislation in some provinces, (for details refer to Chapter X) which hardly affected the lower strata of the kisans The dissatisfaction of the kisans with the Congress governments found expression in a number of protest meetings, conferences, and demonstrations Further, they criticized the Congress governments for arresting a number of kisan leaders, banning kisan meetings, and even using police force against the kisans, especially in Bihar

During the period of Congress governments, the kisan sabhas organized a number of meetings, conferences and kisan

marches, to bring pressure on them to implement their demands. The Right Wing leaders of the Congress and the Congress Ministries disapproved of such extra-parliamentary forms of struggle when Congress governments were functioning

During the period of the growth of the kisan movement since 1934, volunteer's organizations among kisans also sprang up in a number of places.

Kisans: Their Specific Psychological and Other Traits

After narrating the history of the growth, conditions, movements, and organizations of large sections of peasant proprietors, tenants, and land labourers, we will next describe the specific psychological and other traits of these social classes[29]

The class of peasant proprietors owning their land, working on it and trading in its products, exhibit certain psychological characteristics Since they own land, however modest in dimension it be, a peasant proprietor is usually conservative and does not exhibit that audacity in action which a factory worker who is usually propertyless shows This is the general experience in different countries Further, the very method of individual production in which he is engaged on land, makes the peasant individualistic, and makes it difficult for him to collaborate in a common endeavour Here, the peasant contrasts sharply with the factory worker engaged in the production process in modern factories which is based on an extensive division of labour. This is one of the reasons why a workers' trade union and other organizations sprang up earlier than those of the kisans in India It is also the reason why there have been more frequent and numerous collective and organized actions of an economic and political nature among the working class than among the peasants, even though the economic condition of the peasant has often been worse than that of the labourer.

The peasantry is scattered over a vast area unlike the workers This has also made the work of organization of the kisans more difficult.[30] Further, the kisans live in the countryside which is culturally backward and where life goes on at a slow, almost monotonous, pace in sharp contrast to cities which are the focal points of a country's culture, which are

strongholds of the dynamic processes of contemporary life and where advanced social, political, educational, and other movements mostly originate and grow. Isolated from town culture and dynamic processes of modern life, the kisan, mentally natured in the culturally poor countryside, is relatively inert, mentally dull and ignorant Educational and cultural workers and nationalist propagandists have found it more difficult to rouse the kisans to a comprehension of social, political, and other problems than the lower strata of urban population

There is another reason why the kisan is more superstitious and innert than other backward groups composing the nation. Unlike industry, agriculture mainly depends for its fruition on natural forces such as good rains, etc. which have not been mastered by science or technology. Good land, proper seeds and effective plough, healthy livestock, and his own labour, are not the only prerequisites for the realization of crops which finally depend on the unmastered forces of Nature like rain This fact contributes to make the peasant more superstitious and, to some extent, even diffident and defeatist This is why the grossest superstitions thrive among the rural population. Rather than struggle for life by organized collective audacious action, the kisans often submit to catastrophies in a helpless manner or exhibit the blind valour of a desperate man when they take to the road of spontaneous, unorganized, and futile revolts *

Significant historical development and events which happened in India, such as the growth of the nationalist movement and educational and propaganda work of social, political and other workers, together with their own increasing im-

* Due to these organic weaknesses, economic, social, and psychological, such as dispersion on a vast area, heterogeneous social composition, conservatism and others, the peasantry does not play an independent political role in the history of social struggles In modern times, it has followed either the bourgeoisie or the working class In the French Revolution of 1789, the serfs who were toilers on the land accepted the leadership of the rising bourgeoisie who guaranteed them freedom and land, in the struggle against the feudal nobility In the Russian Revolution of 1917, the peasantry supported the Bolshevik Party, the party of the Russian working class, which alone promised them land The Social Revolutionaries, who represented the heterogeneous peasant mass, split and their Left section went over to the Bolsheviks

poverishment, however began to weaken the social and mental inertia of the proverbially immobile Indian agriculturists As described before, they began to move, though very slowly, to build up their own organizations, formulate their own demands, and increasingly to participate in the national and their own class movements This was also due to the fact that Indian nationalists, feeling that, without the support of the kisans who formed a vast section of the population they could not win freedom, began to pay greater attention to them Congressmen, socialists, communists, and other groups, approached the kisans and organized work among them

Due to the process of differentiation going on at an increasing rate among the agricultural population, the class of land labourers had been rapidly growing Though this class owned absolutely no property and lived in poverty, due to its cultural backwardness it had still not developed much consciousness However, the kisan movement and general nationalist movements had been steadily drawing it also in their orbits.

Rise of Modern Indian Intelligentsia

We will next see the role of the intelligentsia in the social, political, and cultural development of the Indian people.

In India, a modern intelligentsia developed decades before modern industries were established and the industrial bourgeoisie came into existence [31] Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group constituted the first group of intelligentsia who studied western culture and imbibed its rationalist and democratic doctrines, conceptions, and spirit

The number of educated Indians was small in the first decades of the nineteenth century It was only after the British government established more and more schools and colleges, private effort of the missionary groups and enlightened Indians reinforcing this growth, that a big class of educated Indians developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, projecting from it a large section of intelligentsia

The role of the intelligentsia in the history of modern Indian nationalism was decisive. They integrated, to a great extent the Indian people into a modern nation and organized various progressive socio-reform and religio-reform move-

ments in the country They were the pioneers, organizers, and leaders of all political national movements. They brought ideas of nationalism and freedom to wider and wider sections of the Indian people, through educational and propaganda work which involved great self-sacrifice and suffering They created rich provincial literatures and cultures, trying to impregnate them with the spirit of nationalism and democracy They produced great scientists, poets, historians, sociologists, literateurs, philosophers and economists In fact the progressive intelligentsia, which assimilated modern western democratic culture and comprehended the complex problems of the incipient Indian nation, were the makers of modern India

Between 1851 and 1884, the professional classes had formed three organizations in the country, namely the Madras Native Association, the Bombay Association, and the Indian Association. (See Chapter X) These organizations pressed the government to Indianize the services on the ground that the state machinery of a country must be staffed by its own nationals and not by foreigners The demand also corresponded to their own sectional interests

With the establishment of Universities in the country after 1857, the numerical strength of the educated Indians rapidly increased. The educated Indians were the first to acquire national consciousness in India. Outstanding members of the Indian intelligentsia backed up by a commercial and incipient industrial bourgeoisie founded in 1885 the first national political organization of the Indian people, the Indian National Congress The language adopted by the Congress was English The intelligentsia thus became its first leaders (See Chapter X).

The subsequent history of the nationalist movement in India which developed, mainly under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, a broad middle class basis in the first decade of the twentieth century and a still broader mass basis after 1918, has been narrated in the chapter on politics The important thing to note, however, is that in all its phases of development, the nationalist movement was led by the intellingentsia whichever section of it led it and however different its ideology, methodology, and programme, from those of other sections During the Liberal phase, the nationalist movement was led by such outstanding Liberal intellectuals

as Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, S. Bannerji, M. G Ranade, Pherozshah Mehta, and others, who were the product of modern education inaugurated in India by the British government In its next militant phase, the movement was guided by such great and sacrificing leaders as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B. C Pal, Aurobindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai who themselves belonged to the modern English-knowing intelligentsia Even the terrorist movement which, as a minority current, grew in the country, was initiated and led by educated middle class youths who had studied the Irish terrorist and Russian nihilist movements. After 1918, when the nationalist movement, due to a number of historical reasons (see Chapter X), acquired more or less a mass basis, its leadership was provided by members of the intelligentsia such as Gandhi, C R Das, Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, C Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and socialist and communist intellectuals

The various social reform and religious reform movements among the Hindus, the Muslims, and other communities, were organized by the members of the intelligentsia of those communities For instance, B R. Ambedkar, a member of the intelligentsia, led a movement of social reform and political education among the depressed classes In fact, almost all progressive social, political, and cultural movements which took place during the British rule were the work of the intelligentsia who had imbibed the new western education and culture

The intelligentsia has been the organizer and leader of all progressive movements in all countries in the modern world In countries like China, India and others, where the general mass of population has been illiterate and ignorant, the intelligentsia, has been playing a particularly important role, since the illiterate and ignorant masses of these countries could not take even a minimum initiative in self-organization and self-enlightenment. It was the educated Indian who, having studied the history of trade union and peasant movements in other countries, gave a lead to the Indian workers and peasants and helped them to form their class organizations and movements If the Indian masses had been literate, they could have known by study, the trade union and other movements in other countries, and would have, on their own initiative, formed such organizations Similarly, the educated

Indians who had assimilated modern ideas of democracy and freedom and who knew about the social, cultural, and scientific achievements of other peoples, spread this knowledge among the illiterate Indian masses.

The educated middle class was the product of the new system of education inaugurated by the British government in India. It was composed of lawyers, doctors, technicians, professors, journalists, state servants, clerks, students, and others. The educated middle class steadily grew in number in the second half of the nineteenth century and after, as a result of the increased establishment of modern educational institutions in the country.

The Council Act of 1861 'was a concession to the educated aristocracy . ' 'The Council Act of 1892 was another index to the growth of the professional classes and to the concessions given to these classes '[32]

The growth of modern education in India was not paralleled by a proportional economic development of the country Industrial development which guarantees a general economic development of society, thereby increasing its wealth and general prosperity and creating an ever increasing number of jobs and other avenues of income, was slow in India due to a number of factors of which the economic policy of the British government was an important one As a result of this disparity, by the end of the nineteenth century unemployment among the educated class had already assumed serious proportions. Political discontent born of the economic suffering due to unemployment among the educated middle class was an important factor in the growth of the political current of militant nationalism of which Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghose were the principal leaders It also led to the growth of the terrorist movement.

As the educated middle class grew in the country in the subsequent decades and became more conscious of its own sectional interests, its various groups began to form their own organizations and formulate their own demands Thus, there came into existence, in increasing numbers, organizations of these groups over and above their general organizations such as Youth Leagues, Volunteer organizations, and others This process became particularly swift after 1930 A number of

unions and associations of such groups as teachers, lawyers, engineers, and others, emerged to defend and organize struggles for getting redress of their grievances. These organizations were similar to trade unions or kisan sabhas which protected the sectional and immediate interests of workers and peasants The rapid growth of students' organizations and unions, particularly after 1934, all over India, culminating in the formation of all-India students organizations, was also notable

Modern Indian Bourgeoisie. Its Interests, Organizations and Movements

We will next consider the rise of another new social class which emerged in the Indian society. As a result of the enormous expansion of internal and foreign trade, the establishment, in course of time, and subsequent growth of modern industries and banks in India, during the period of the British rule, a new class developed, the class of modern commercial, industrial and financial bourgeoisie. This class was, as in other countries, economically and socially perhaps the strongest class in India

The rise and development of the Indian bourgeoisie was bound up with the expansion of trade, commerce, industry and banking in India. The history of the expansion of the latter has been narrated in the chapter on the rise of modern industries. We will refer to the principal interests, traits, problems, organizations, and struggles of this class

It should also be noted that the Europeans were also engaged in trade, industry, and banking in India Pursuing their interests, they formed their own organizations separately or together with the Indians according to the nature of the economic enterprise

The first European Chamber of Commerce was established at Calcutta in 1834 and at Bombay and Madras in 1836

The first Indian Chamber of Commerce, The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, was started in 1887 The Indian Merchants' Chamber was founded in Bombay in 1907. The Marwari Chamber of Commerce was started at Calcutta in 1900 and the South Indian Chamber of Commerce at Madras in 1909 The Indian Chamber of Commerce was created in 1925 'to promote and protect the trade, commerce, and industries in or with which Indians are engaged or concerned'[33]

Provincial organizations of the Indian commercial community also sprang up subsequently The Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce was started in 1927

The conflict of interests between the Indian and the European commercial classes was the main reason for the formation of the independent organizations of these respective groups However, it must be noted that 'where both are traders, their interests are not identical Where both are employers, their interests are identical, as shown in the Millowners' Association of Bombay '[34]

The main grievances of the Indian merchants was what they described as preferential treatment shown to European business by the British government in the sphere of trade and undue restrictions put on Indian trade with non-British countries

The Indian commercial community criticized and struggled against the privileged position of British commercial interests in India They, for instance, attacked the favourable position occupied by the British businessmen in the coastal shipping of the country This led to the introduction of the Reservation of the Coastal Traffic of India in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Haji. He argued that the coastal trade was controlled by a foreign monopoly which hindered the development of Indian shipping

Sir P C Ray, a nationalist scientist, remarked 'What the British in the country are enjoying and what they want in a new constitution, is not equality of rights, but special prerogatives as a ruling race, continuance of the preferential treatment they have received from a Government with which they have a kinship, and the perpetuation of the existing inequalities; unless all these prerogatives, privileges and unfair conditions are ceded, Indians will have no chance to build up their economic future '[35]

The commercial community did not, however, present such militant opposition to the British government as the class of industrialists which, in course of time, developed in the country with the establishment of modern industries This was due to the fact that the British government strove to safeguard the interests of British industries in the inevitable struggle for markets between these interests and those of rising Indian industries

'The market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism.'[36] Almost since its inception, the industrial bourgeoisie put up a strong agitation against the government for securing such demands as protection for the incipient Indian industries.

From 1880 onward, modern industries steadily developed in India and the industrial bourgeoisie grew in strength. The nationalist intelligentsia had already pioneered the nationalist movement in India and had set up the premier national political organization, the Indian National Congress, in 1885

The rising industrialist class had become sufficiently strong and conscious by 1905. From that time, it began to support the professional classes, who were already fighting for breaking the monopoly of the British in the services and professions.

> The professional classes aimed at replacing a group of Britishers who still enjoyed a practical monopoly of medical, legal and journalistic functions in India The industrialist classes likewise aimed to replace the British monopoly of industries in India The development of the largest Indian industry, cotton textiles, was against the British traders The development of capitalism in India was of a colonial character The social economy of the country, together with the rigid free trade of the British ruling class, hindered the interests of the rising industrialists. They had to fight against commercial discrimination They had to fight against free trade.
>
> Their watchword was Swadeshism, protectionism These rising industrialist classes naturally allied themselves with the professional classes '[37]

The critics of the economic policy of the British government remarked that, yielding to the pressure of the interests of the British industries, it hindered the free development of Indian industries [38]

This led to India becoming mainly an agrarian country producing raw materials for British industries. The Indian economic development was adapted and subordinated to the requirements of British industries, thereby reducing the Indian economy to a colonial adjunct of the British economy Joan Beauchamp commented thus 'Her (India's) industrial development is subjected to the following restrictions (a) it must be under the control of British capital, Indian capital being placated with a junior partnership; (b) Indian industries must never be allowed to compete on equal terms with home industries, or to work up raw materials which are required

for British industries, (c) the Indian market for British manufactuhrers must not be interfered with, and (d) industries for the production of the means of production must not be developed.'[39]

The industrial bourgeoisie entered the orbit of the Indian nationalist movement with their own slogans of protection, favourable exchange ratio, subsidies for the growing industries, and others

The industrial capitalists began to enter the orbit of the nationalist movement during the first decade of the twentieth century This class began to gravitate to the Indian National Congress during this period and enthusiastically supported the programme of Swadeshi and boycott of English goods, since it also served its own class interest.

The Swadeshi Movement which was successful, for some time, gave an impetus to the growth of Indian industries, especially the textile industry.

The nationalist movement which was hitherto mainly restricted to the intelligentsia, sections of the commercial bourgeoisie and educated middle class, secured a broader social basis from 1905 as a result of the entry of large sections of the middle class and politically conscious industrialists.

During the period of the First World War (1914-18), industrial development took place at a rapid rate in the country. This was due to the fact that the British and other foreign industries were mainly diverted for the war and could not supply goods to the Indian market. This gave an impetus to Indian industries and accelerated their expansion. Further, the British government itself, for strategic reasons, supported the establishment of steel and such other industries.

This further added to the social and economic strength of the industrialists

It was, however, after the end of the war that the specific weight of this class within and influence over the nationalist movement and its principal organization, the Indian National Congress, progressively increased. It was particularly after 1919-20 that it increasingly dominated the Congress organization, shaped its programmes and determined the forms and methods of struggles started by it The tendency was towards increasing control of this class over the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress came under the influence of Gandhian ideology and Gandhi's political leadership in 1919-20 Gandhi had declared his irreconcilable opposition to modern machinery and industries based on it The fear of Indian industrialists was, however, dispelled when Gandhi supported the resolution on Swadeshi at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1920. The resolution stated 'The session of the National Congress advises that Swadeshi be adopted on a wide scale in respect to cotton goods ' (See the chapter on politics)

The industrialists, with their historical sense and knowledge of laws of economy, did not regard Gandhi's parallel propaganda of khaddar as a danger to their industrial programme In fact, while operating and multiplying modern machine-based industries in India and deriving profits out of them, some of them, anomalous though it be, donned hand-spun khaddar and even subsidized the khaddar movement They saw in the Congress and the movements started by it weapons to force the British government to grant political and economic concessions which would be of benefit to their class

Further, Gandhi's social philosophy based on such theories as those of class harmony, capitalists' trusteeship of their property and 'Capitalists are fathers and workers are children' also appealed to the industrialists.

They saw in this philosophy a defence against the working-class movement developing on a class struggle basis.

Gandhi's consistent opposition to the doctrine of class struggle made him popular among the industrialists While the latter viewed with disfavour the All-India Trade Union Congress which, like the British Trade Union Congress, was based on the principle of class struggle, they endorsed and even supported the Majur Mahajan which was the trade union organization of the Ahmedabad textile workers sponsored by Gandhi and founded on the principle of class collaboration

Wealthy industrialists like Birla, Bajaj, Ambalal Sarabhai, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, and others, supported the Congress under Gandhi's absolute leadership and financed its programmes They also subsidized such schemes as the revival of pre-capitalist handicrafts In fact, it was mainly due to the financial aid of these industrial magnates who subsidized the All-India Spinners' Association and such other organizations, that the

relics of steadily declining old modes of production in India were artificially buttressed and kept alive

Further, the propaganda of Gandhism with its philosophy which idealized poverty and preached love to the opponent, was also subsidized by these industrialists, perhaps because it was the best antidote to the discontent of labourers with their low wages and bad conditions of work If poverty is idealized, the demand for a higher standard stands self-condemned

Paradoxical though it may seem, the wealthy industrialists did not themselves attempt to practise these Gandhian theories of life They retained their love for property and chase for profit, notwithstanding their support to Gandhism

The mass movements organized by the Indian National Congress under Gandhi's leadership and on Gandhian principles had, however, a pressure value which the industrialists appreciated. The movements became levers to secure from the British government the satisfaction of their demands such as protection, favourable ratio (a demand embodied in the Eleven Points of Gandhi), and others (See Chapter X).

One of the main obstacles to the rapid economic development of India was the nature of agrarian relationships. An agrarian reform of a far-reaching character was a pre-condition for renovating agriculture and for improving the economic condition of the agrarian population, thereby also increasing their purchasing power The rapid expansion of Indian industries was possible only if a prosperous agrarian population became their customer

The Indian industrialists did not, however, stand for a programme of radical agrarian reform This was due to the fact that in India the two classes, the zemindars and the industrialists, were often interlocked The zemindars invested in industries and banks and the banker and the industrialist had a landed interest

The Congress governments which were established in 1937, were criticized by left nationalists and others for pro-capitalistic leanings (See Chapter X). The critics remarked that sections of the industrialists supported the Congress because the latter looked after their interests. The use of the police force by the Congress government during the textile workers' strike in Bombay, the enactment of the Trades Dis-

pute Act, ban on workers' meetings in Ahmedabad and Sholapur, and incarceration and deportation of some of the labour leaders by Congress governments in various provinces, were pointed out by the critics to prove that the Congress governments favoured capitalist interests[40]

Like other classes, the industrial bourgeoisie evolved a number of organizations, to protect its interests and press its demands.

The Bombay Millowners' Association was founded in 1875, the Indian Tea Association in 1881; the Indian Jute Mills' Association in 1884, the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association in 1891, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1927; the Employers' Federation of Southern India in 1920, the All-India Organization of Industrial Employers in 1933 and the Employers' Federation of India in 1933 These were important among the organizations

The Indian economy had already entered the monopoly phase of development The growing tendency towards a steadily diminishing number of capitalists to establish almost monopoly over a particular branch of industry, even over an entire industry or a group of industries, has been described in the chapter on industries. This led not only to an increasing grip of a small group of industrialists and financiers over the economic life of the Indian people but also to their control over their social, political, and intellectual life. This could be seen from the instance of the Press Birla bought over an entire group of papers which thereby invested him with the power to shape the views and mould the outlook of the reading public according to his desire This contrasted with the earlier phase when individuals like Surendranath Banerjee, Agarkar, Tilak, and others, could run the Press and carry on independent propaganda of their views Big business steadily brought within its orbit and control a larger and larger portion of the Press, thereby controlling the thought of the community. In other industries, also, the same tendency became perceptible Monopoly control in economy tended to lead to monopoly control of the intellectual, political, and social life of the people

Rise of Modern Indian Proletariat

We will now refer to another new social class which came into being in the Indian society, the modern working class.

The modern working class in India was the offspring of the modern industries, transport, and plantations, established in India during the British period. It was a class which grew in proportion as plantations, modern factories, mining industry, and transport developed in India.

The Indian proletariat was formed predominantly out of the pauperized peasants and ruined artisans, who became wage earners.[41]

The low level of the living and working conditions of the Indian workers was recognized by official as well as non-official writers.

'All enquiries go to show that the vast majority of workers in India do not receive more than about 1s per day '[42]

'We visited the workers' quarters wherever we stayed, and had we not seen them, we could not have believed that such evil places existed .

'The overcrowding and insanitary conditions, almost everywhere prevailing, demonstrate the callousness and wanton neglect of their obvious duties by the authorities concerned.'[43]

S V Parulekar, Indian Workers' Delegate at the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in 1938, said in his speech· 'In India the vast majority of workers get a wage which is not enough to provide them with the meanest necessities of life .. The workers of India are unprotected against risks of sickness, unemployment, old age and death '[44]

A large proportion of the workers had fallen into indebtedness due to their inability to maintain themselves and their families on the basis of the low wages they got. The Whitley Commission concluded that 'in most industrial centres the proportion of families or individuals who are in debt is not less than two-thirds of the whole.'[45]

The conditions of the miners were especially bad regarding wages and living conditions.[46]

The workers employed on plantations which were mostly owned by Europeans got probably the lowest wages. About this Shiva Rao wrote: 'In the Assam Valley tea-gardens the average monthly earnings of men workers settled in the gardens are about Rs. 7-13-0 a month, of women and children about Rs 5-14-0 and Rs 4-4 respectively.'[47]

The government enacted some legislation to protect the

workers such as the Indian Ports Act of 1931, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1934, the Factories Act of 1934, the Mines Act of 1935 and the Payment of Wages Act of 1936 and others

The labour and social legislation passed by the government was, however, described by a number of writers as inadequate to protect labour

'Taking all labour legislation into account, affecting factories, mines, plantations, docks, railways, harbours, etc, it is doubtful whether more than seven or eight millions at the outside come within its protecting influence The rest who constitute by far the greater majority of the industrial workers are engaged in small or what is known as unregulated industries '[48]

These hard conditions of life and labour led to a steady growth of the working class movement in India from 1918 onwards

The Indian working class developed national and class consciousness much later than the intelligentsia, the educated middle class, and the bourgeoisie This was due to the fact that it was culturally backward, almost illiterate The first few generations of workers composed of pauperized peasants and ruined village artisans suffered from the village backwardness even after they had migrated to cities and become workers Even later, considerable sections of Indian workers had strong ties with the village.

Modern Proletariat, its Distinguishing Characteristics

Due to its very conditions of life and labour, the working class develops specific characteristics and capacities which distinguish it sharply from the peasantry or even the urban middle class and which make it easier for it to organize itself, unite and put up a collective struggle, to secure its class interests First, a proletarian being propertyless is more militant than the peasant, who owning a meagre plot of ground has a stake which makes him hesitant in action Secondly, the workers are concentrated in factories and workshops in the industrial centres This renders the task of organization of the workers easier in contrast to that of the peasants who are scattered over a vast area and hence difficult to be welded into unions. Further, the workers operate modern power-driven machinery and are not dependent on the capricious forces of Nature like

rain for the fruition of the labour they invest in the production process This has a tendency to make the worker self-confident, logical, and clearheaded, in contrast to the peasant who develops self-diffidence and defeatism. Moreover, the labour process in which the worker is engaged is based on a more complex and extensive division of labour The daily necessity of co-operating with other workers in the production process itself slowly engenders in the worker a collective urge and a capacity to co-operate This is one of the reasons why trade unions spring more rapidly and strikes and collective actions are more frequent than peasant unions or peasant movements

Further, it must also be noted that the working class occupies key positions in contemporary society It runs factories, operates railways and buses, generates power like gas and electricity, digs coal and carries on the work of postal and telegraphic transmission The role of this work is, socially and economically most vital to maintain modern society This renders the social specific weight of the modern working class out of proportion with its numerical strength

The Indian working class, like the working classes of other countries, being divorced from the modern means of production which it itself operated on the basis of wage system, increasingly gravitated to the conception and programme of a socialist society. This was reflected in the constitution of the All-India Trade Union Congress which set as its aim the establishment of a socialist state in India As the history of Britain, France, and other countries shows, by its very position in modern society, the working class orients towards and struggles for this final goal While other classes of contemporary Indian society desired a free India, Indian labour dreamt of a free socialist India

There were, however, factors and forces in Indian society which operated to retard the process of self-organization of the workers for which their conditions of life and labour created a favourable premise These were chiefly their cultural backwardness, caste and communal divisions which split them, influence of religious superstition and a fatalistic attitude towards life which weakened the will to act boldly. On the whole, however, the trade union, political, and cultural movement of the Indian working class had been steadily growing.

Growth of Working Class Movements

Though as an organized movement, the Indian labour movement began only after the end of the World War of 1914-18, there had been, before that, episodic activity of Indian labour This activity was, however, of a sporadic and spontaneous character and was not animated by any definite conscious class purpose

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was founded in 1897 Its membership was, however, composed only of salaried upper staff of the railways, mostly Anglo-Indians

A few unions like the Printers' Union in Calcutta and the Postal Union in Bombay were also formed in the first decade of the twentieth century These unions were, however, weak in membership and lacked a proper theoretical or programmatic basis

The period before 1918 witnessed a few industrial strikes also They were mostly spontaneous, unorganized, and not animated by any clear trade union consciousness [49]

Politically also, the Indian working class remained almost unconscious and passive till 1918, the only exception being the political general strike of the Bombay textile workers in 1908 on the occasion of the incarceration of B G Tilak, the popular nationalist leader It was 'the only political action' of the Indian workers and was greeted by Lenin as the symptom of their growing political awakening (See Chapter X)

It was, however, after 1918 that the Indian working class took to the road of organization on class lines and increasingly developed trade union and political consciousness. This transformation is described in the Report of the Whitley Commission as follows

'Prior to the winter of 1918-19 a strike was a rare occurrence in Indian industry Lacking leadership and organization, and deeply imbued with a passive outlook on life, the vast majority of industrial workers regarded the return to the village as the only alternative to the endurance of the hard conditions in industry The end of the war saw an immediate change There were some important strikes in the cold weather of 1918-19, they were more numerous in the following winter, and in the winter of 1920-21, industrial strikes became almost general in organized industry The main cause was the realization of the potentialities of the strike in the existing situation, and this was

assisted by the emergence of the trade union organizers, by the education which the war had given to the masses, and by the scarcity of labour arising from the expansion of industry, and aggravated by the great epidemics of influenza '[50]

The economic crisis following the war, entailing suffering for the workers, the repercussion of such events as democratic revolutions in Germany, Austria, Turkey and other countries and the socialist revolution in Russia, among the Indian people including the working class, and the general ferment in the country, were also some of the causes of the beginning of the organized movement of the Indian working class after 1918

The years 1918 to 1920 were marked with the outbreak of a series of strikes throughout the country, in a number of industrial centres including Bombay, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Sholapur, Jamshedpur, Madras, and Ahmedabad. It was the first time that such numerous and extensive strike actions took place[51] In addition to these economic strikes, workers in Bombay and a number of other industrial towns went on a political strike as a protest against the Rowlatt Acts, demonstrating thereby their growing political consciousness It marked the entry of the working class in the nationalist movement.

It was during this period that the first attempts to form trade unions in various industries took place in a number of centres, such as Bombay, Madras, and others. Soon, a number of trade unions sprang up in the country.

In 1920, as a result of the efforts of N M Joshi, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Joseph Baptista, the All-India Trade Union Congress was founded Its declared aim was to co-ordinate 'activities of all organizations in all the provinces of India, and generally to further the interests of Indian labour in matters economic, social, and political '[52]

The formation of the All-India Trade Union Congress was a landmark in the history of Indian labour For the first time, the growing trade union movement found on all-India expression

The leadership of the A.I T.U Congress remained for almost a decade, mainly in the hands of liberal politicians like N M. Joshi Nationalists like Giri and C. R Das, in course of time, also associated themselves with it The nationalist and reformist ideology of the leadership determined the pro-

paganda carried on among the workers. The A.I.T.U. Congress, however, had a very small numerical basis

After 1927, a left wing leadership developed within the trade union movement, mainly composed of left nationalists, socialists and communists, which steadily began to displace the earlier leadership. Since 1922, socialist and communist ideas had been spreading among the Indians resulting in the crystallization of socialist and communist groups in the country These groups realizing the significance of the working class for the success of the nationalist movement organized Workers' and Peasants' Parties The members of these parties gained increasing influence in the Trade Union Congress Their declared object was to base the trade union movement on the principle of class struggle and also draw the workers into the orbit of the nationalist struggle with a programme of national independence to be secured by the method of direct action.

The left wing succeeded in becoming the leader of the A.I.T.U. Congress, the old leadership of the Joshi group becoming a minority force within the Congress In 1929, a sharp difference of views occurred between the two wings over such questions as the boycott of the Royal Commission on Labour and representation at the International Conference at Geneva It led to a split resulting in the secession of a number of trade unions which formed the Indian Trades Union Federation under the leadership of the Joshi group.

A further split in the A.I.T.U Congress took place in 1931. The two sections, however, united in 1935

In 1938, both the A.I.T.U Congress and the Indian Trades Union Federation achieved unity resulting in the re-emergence of a strong All-India Trade Union Congress in the country

The All-India Trade Union Congress had an advanced programme which included such objects as the establishment of a socialist state in India, socialization and nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, as far as possible, amelioration of the economic and social conditions of the working classes; securing for the workers civil liberties like freedom of speech, press, association, assembly, and strike, participation in the national struggle for freedom from the point of view of the working classes, and abolition of pri-

vileges based on caste, creed, community, race, or religion.[53] This was an advanced democratic and socialist programme.

The total membership of the All-India Trade Union Congress which comprised trade unions in various industries, stood at 3,37,695 in 1942 This was a small per cent of the total number of workers The low membership of the trade union organizations in India was mainly due to such reasons as the poverty and cultural backwardness of the workers danger of victimization at the hands of the employers, and others. During the period of strikes, however, trade unions had maximum influence among the workers and gained in membership

It was after 1927 that the Indian working class entered the phase of considerable activity in the sphere of both economic and political struggle During the years 1928-30, some of the biggest economic strikes including that of the Bombay textile workers took place After 1927, the Indian working class began to constitute itself as an independent political force, evolved its own flag and independent class programme, and its considerable section followed its own leadership in the united nationalist movement The workers joined the demonstrations organized by the Indian National Congress as a protest against the Simon Commission, mostly under their own flag, with their own slogans, and under their own leadership The government considered this development as dangerous and a result of communist agitation It, therefore, enacted the Trades Dispute Act and issued as an Ordinance the Public Safety Bill in 1929 The former restricted the freedom to strike and the latter armed the government to deport undesirable aliens It also arrested a number of labour leaders belonging to the left wing and started their trial, famous as the Meerut Conspiracy Case Sections of the working class also participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-33.

The great success of the Congress candidates at the elections held in 1937 was due also to the enthusiastic support of the workers to whom the Election Manifesto of the Congress had appealed. They felt, however, disillusioned about the Congress governments whom they not only accused of not fulfilling their pledge to improve their living and working conditions but also blamed for enacting undemocratic pro-capital-

ist legislation like the Bombay Trades Dispute Act, for police firing on the strikers in Bombay, banning labour meetings and imprisoning labour leaders

After 1938, there was a rapid growth of trade union organizations in the country This growth was reflected in the increase in the number of trade unions affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress.[54]

This new social class was acquiring increasing importance in the nationalist movement

New Social Classes, National in Character

After narrating the interests, traits, problems, organizations, and the movements, of the principal new social classes, we will now refer to certain specific characteristics of these classes which distinguished them from the old classes of pre-British India.

One striking characteristic of the new social classes was their national character. This was due to the fact that they were integral parts of a single national economy of India and further, they lived under a single state regime This engendered community of economic, political and other interests, of the members of each of the new social classes on an all-India national basis As the individuals and groups comprising the class became conscious of this basic identity of interests (though they might compete among themselves within the framework of this basic identity of interests), they felt an urge to organize themselves on an all-India scale and start movement to advance their common interests on a national basis.

It was not so in pre-British India, when no single national economy or state regime existed In pre-British India, the village artisan, for example, had no common economic ties or interests with artisans in other villages since he was a part of village autarchy. Similarly, the town handicraftsman had no common economic ties or interests with the handicraftsmen of other towns. India was, in fact, then divided into a conglomeration of almost unconnected local economies and a congeries of states Hence, there were neither common political nor economic interests of all the artisans, handicraftsmen, or agriculturists. This led to the absence of impulse to organize and struggle on a national basis and scale

Their Consciousness of Common Interests

The new social classes which emerged on the basis and lived under the auspices of the single national economy and state rule, stood in sharp contrast to the old classes The industrialists, the factory and transport proletariat, the modern merchants, peasant proprietors, tenants, land labourers and even professional classes, had respective common interests and problems such as protection, ratio, wages and conditions of work, state regulation of prices, level of revenue imposition, freight, services, and others in the economic field, or franchise, representation in legislatures, civil liberties for advancing their own group interests, and others, in the political sphere

This was why with the establishment and development of the new economic system, which brought into existence the contemporary capitalist (notwithstanding some survivals of the past society) society and centralized state regime in India, we observe that each new class, urged by the compelling force of its specific common interests, as it became conscious, moved towards a national, i e , an all-India organization The bourgeoisie increasingly felt as a national bourgeoisie and built up its Indian Chambers of Commerce and Federations of Industries The proletariat felt as a national proletariat and built, in course of time, its all-India organizations such as the All-India Trade Union Congress The kisans, though a culturally backward and poverty-stricken amorphous mass of land labourers, peasant proprietors and tenants, made the first attempt to evolve an all-India organization such as the All-India Kisan Sabha

All such social groups, as students, women, depressed classes, doctors, editors, and others, who as they became conscious of common interests endeavoured to organize on a national scale and built organizations like the All-India Women's Conference, the All-India Medical Practitioners' Associations, the All-India Journalists and Editors Conference and others.

Even the Indian princes, the modified survival of the corresponding old class, organized themselves on an all-India basis, in the Indian Chamber of Princes.

Another feature of the new Indian society was that while the new social classes moved towards national organization and strove to accomplish their respective ends, allying or strug-

gling among themselves as the exigencies of their interests dictated, these classes, in varying degrees, increasingly became conscious of certain common interests of Indian people such as the development of productive forces and the general economic advance of the Indian society, increased control of state power by the Indians and spread of modern education and culture The enlightened sections of the new classes increasingly recognized that sectional advance of those classes was bound up with the general advance of the Indian society as a whole; that for the rapid development of industries, restoration and reorganization of agriculture was indispensable, and also that a prosperous agriculture implied, as a prerequisite, the expansion of industries which would relieve over-pressure on agriculture, that the prosperity of the professional classes mainly depended on the general prosperity; and that spread of education and culture were vital prerequisites for social and economic progress. They also further recognized the role of political power in bringing about the social transformation This led to the growth of a united nationalist movement of all progressive social classes and groups in the country with a common programme embodying such demands as radical administrative reform, control of executives by the legislatures, comprehensive civil liberties, universal primary and increased higher, liberal and technical education, Home Rule, Dominion Status, and Swaraj

Uneven Development of Their Consciousness

Further, national and class consciousness did not grow among the new classes simultaneously The intelligentsia who assimilated the ideas of nationalism, democracy, and rationalism, were the first to feel the democratic and national impulse and, thereby, also became the pioneers and leaders of all progressive social, religious, economic, political, and cultural movements Subsequently, the educated middle class, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the peasantry, in increasing numbers, developed a national outlook It was after 1918 that the conditions for a broadbased nationalist movement matured and a united nationalist movement came into existence (see the chapter on politics).

The tendency towards a united national movement for

political freedom and social, economic and cultural advance of the Indian people, was, however, retarded by the growth of communalism (to be distinguished from the growth of nationality consciousness among certain provincial and minority groups) and other factors which worked for disruption The reactionary section of the educated class, reinforced by a section of vested interests, tried to keep alive and even accentuated mutual distrust among different communities, generally with the object of serving their own sectional interests such as those posts in services or seats in legislatures or rivalry in trade, (see Chapter XIX, 'Problem of Nationalities and Minorities'). The cultural backwardness of the people helped the communalists in their anti-national work.

The demands for a greater spread of modern education and culture, of extensive industrialization, of a democratic revision of land relations and modernization of agriculture, of democratization of the state system, of Independence, and others, which constituted the programmes of progressive new social classes, separately or jointly, had a progressive and national character since they were conceived on a national scale and aimed at building a prosperous national existence Higher material and cultural existence for the Indian people became the objective of those programmes The desire for democratic social and state structure, a prosperous economy and a rich advanced cultural life in a greater or lesser degree, inspired these programmes

Growing Reactionary Trends in Propertied Classes

It should, however, be noted that all the new classes were not consistently democratic in dealing with some vital national problems. For instance, though a radical revision of land relations involving loss of the valuable rights of the zemindars, not to speak of the abolition of Zemindari itself, was essential for the restoration of agriculture and the improvement of the economic condition of the agrarian population, the Indian burgeoisie exhibited no enthusiasm for any radical agrarian reform Here, they sacrificed the general interests of national economic advance to their sectional interests which were opposed to the overturn of Zemindari (see chapters on politics and agriculture) Another instance was found in the

fact that when the Congress governments were installed, they showed their pro-capitalist bias by enacting the Bombay Trade Disputes Act which was an infringement of civil liberties.

Living in the epoch of general capitalist decline and sharpening inter-capitalist economic rivalries, increasingly dependent on British or American finance capital, interlocked with indigenous landed interests, having a colonial status and without real state power, and further, confronted with the steadily developing movements of the workers, farmers, and tenants, whose economic position was deteriorating, the national bourgeoisie was, by the very logic of its class position and interests, becoming increasingly un-progressive and even reactionary. It brought into the sphere of ideology religious mysticism, and in politics authoritarian conceptions like 'One leader, one party, one programme, and curtailment of civil liberties (workers' freedom to strike, etc). This was the growing tendency of this class

Twofold Movements in India

So there were two simultaneous movements in the country, both on a national basis and on an all-India scale The first movement comprised all separate movements of various social classes pursuing their own respective interests and aims, such as the industrialists, merchants, workers, kisans, professional classes, students, women, and others Each social class or group organized itself and struggled to satisfy its own interests Thus, there arose numerous and distinct movements of various classes to serve their specific interests. The interrelations of these classes were determined by every concrete historical situation which determined their episodic alliances or conflicts

The other movement was the joint movement of all or a number of classes, episodic or permanent, against foreign rule It took the form of the Indian nationalist movement for Home Rule, Dominion Status, or Complete Independence. This movement was based on the common interest, namely the removal of political control of India by another nation Each social class, however, had its own conception of the form of state and socio-economic structure after the achievement of power

The phenomenon of separate class movements on a national scale and a united national movement for political freedom, economic advance, and cultural progress, was non-existent in pre-British India.

However, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, the growth of the new consciousness, though increasingly enveloping more and more sections of different social classes, was still limited and slow in its tempo.

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CHAPTER XII

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN NATIONALISM

Press, Its Decisive Social Role

In modern times, the Press has become a powerful social institution This is proved by the fact that the Press has been glorified as the Fourth Estate The Press moulds as well as mirrors all complex processes of modern life It facilitates the exchange of thought on a mass scale in the shortest time By its aid, conferences are mobilized, controversies settled or fought out, movements organized, institutions built up The Press is a powerful censor of all actions of those who occupy the summits of society and hold the destiny of peoples in their hands It, thereby, helps to establish popular democratic control over them

The Press was a formidable weapon in the hands of the European peoples in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, in integrating themselves as nations, in organizing struggles against feudal disunity maintained by the feudal nobility, in establishing the modern national state, society, and culture In France, the intelligentsia, the harbingers and proclaimers of the new social order and its advanced social conceptions, found in the Press an effective weapon to expose the moral decadence, cultural poverty, and reactionary social significance, of the ruling feudal class. Through the Press, Voltaire, Diderot, Holbach, Helvetius, and others disseminated scientific social ideas among the people and kindled indignation among them against the religious superstition and social oppression under which they lived. They stormed against serfdom and summoned serfs to revolt against the feudal nobility and its state They denounced, in thousands of books

and brochures, the undemocratic principles of the privilege through birth on which feudal society was based and which was made sacrosanct by the catholic superstition They propagated, in flaming printed word, equal rights of individuals in opposition to feudal privilege. They carried on the propaganda of a programme of abolition of serfdom and the establishment of a centralized democratic national state of the French people. The Press became an indispensable weapon for the rising social forces led by the intelligentsia including political writers such as Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and others, to stir up the consciousness of the people, to enlighten it with new ideas and lead them through a great historic struggle for the overthrow of the feudal state and society and replace them by the modern national state and society. In the hands of the advanced section of the French people, the Press became a weapon for the creation and development of the new, historically higher type of society, the bourgeois national democratic society which post-Revolutionary France represented Without the help of the Press, it is extremely doubtful if the mass mobilization for the anti-feudal struggle, the establishment of a national state and society after the destruction of the feudal state and social order, and the development of the rich complex scientific and artistic culture of modern France, would have been possible [1]

A similar role was played by the Press in England, Germany, Italy, and other modern European countries. The advanced section of the population imbued with democratic ideas could spread those ideas among the vast mass of the people because of the facility provided by the Press After the victory over feudal society, with its autocratic state system and obscurantist medieval culture, the Press further became an instrument to create the modern culture in those countries accessible, through the printed word, to a vast portion of the people

'Ideas become a material force when they reach out to the people' The printing press played a big role, in the history of a number of peoples, in their national awakening, in their imbibing progressive ideas, and in their being drawn as active forces into great social, political, and cultural movements

Its Absence in Pre-British India

The printing press did not exist in the pre-British period Though it was first introduced in India by the Portuguese Jesuits as early as 1557 to print Christian literature, it became a real social force influencing the life of the people only in the first quarter of the nineteenth century

Manuscript newspapers were in vogue during the Mogul regimes. Generally the emperor appointed two newswriters, in every provincial centre; a *waquia-navis* who prepared a manuscript news gazette embodying information about all important public activities in the area and a *sawanih-navis* who prepared a newssheet which gave news about all important events that took place there [2]

During the pre-British period, wealthy merchants also employed private newswriters who prepared and sent to their employers newsletters providing commercial and other news [3]

All these official and private newspapers and newsletters were handwritten in the absence of the facility of the printing press They reached a small section of the population only and were restricted in the range of information

Growth of Indian Press, Upto 1900 A D

The introduction of the printing press in India was an event of revolutionary significance in the life of the Indian people. The awakening and growth of national consciousness among them gave rise to the nationalist press.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the founder of the nationalist Press in India Though a few papers had been started by others before him, his *Sambad-Kaumudi* in Bengali published in 1821, and *Mirat-Ul-Akbar* in Persian published in 1822, were the first publications in India with a distinct nationalist and democratic progressive orientation These papers were mainly the organs of the propaganda of social reform, and a critical discussion of religious and philosophical problems

Fardoonji Murzban was the pioneer of the vernacular (Gujarati) Press in Bombay. It was as early as 1822 that he started the *Bombay Samachar* which, as a daily, is still in existence

The progressive administrative measures of Lord Ben-

tinck gave a fillip to the growth of Indian journalism *Bang Dutt* (in Bengali), with the effort of progressive Indians like Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, was founded in 1830.

In Bombay, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* (in Gujarati) which, as a daily, is still being published, was started in 1831 by P. M Motiwala, another enterprising Parsee. Two more papers in Gujarati, *Rast Goftar* and *Akhbar-e-Saudagar,* were founded in Bomby in 1851. Dadabhai Naoroji, an outstanding leader of the Indian nationalist movement and a founder leader of the Indian National Congress, edited *Rast Goftar.*

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the famous nationalist and social reformer, started the *Shome Prakash* in Bengali in 1858 It was conducted from the nationalist standpoint and maintained a high standard of political journalism. When disturbances broke out in 1860 in the indigo growing area in Bengal, it stoutly defended the interests of the farmers.

The enactment of the Indian Council's Act of 1861, which for the first time associated Indians with the government for legislative work, led to the growth of political awakening among the upper section of Indian society This stimulated the expansion of both Indian and non-Indian Press in the following years *The Times of India* was founded in Bombay in 1861, *The Pioneer* in Allahabad in 1865, *The Madras Mail* in 1868, *The Statesman* in Calcutta in 1875, and *The Civil and Military Gazette* in Lahore in 1876 All these papers were English dailies and persisted during the British period. *The Times of India* usually supported the policy of the British government in India. *The Pioneer* supported landowning and mercantile interests. *The Madras Mail* represented the interests of the European commercial community. *The Statesman* criticized the government as well as the Indian nationalist groups while *The Civil and Military Gazette* was distinctly an organ of British conservative opinion.

The nationalist Press also grew during this period In Bengal, *The Amrit Bazar Patrika* was founded as an Anglo-Bengali weekly as the result of the combined effort of the Ghose brothers, Hemendrakumar, Shishirkumar, and Motilal, in 1868. To circumvent the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, it was converted wholly into an English weekly. It was turned into an English daily in 1891 *The Amrit Bazar Patrika* pro-

pagated strong nationalist views and had been one of the most popular of the nationalist newspapers. Due to its strong criticisms of the measures of the government, the paper was subjected to repression. A number of its editors were imprisoned in the past.

Sir Surendranath Banerjee, one of the most prominent leaders of the rising Indian nationalism, edited and owned *The Bengali* (in English) in 1879. For an article published in *The Bengali,* he was convicted for the offence of contempt of court and sentenced to two months imprisonment. *The Bengali* propogated the views of the moderate wing of the liberal school of Indian political thought.

Under the advice of Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Dayal Singh Majeetia started *The Tribune* of Lahore, an English daily, in 1877. It was an influential paper in the Punjab with a liberal nationalist hue.

The political discontent, which gathered during the period of Lord Lytton's administration due to a number of measures which offended the public sentiment, gave impetus to the further growth of the Press. Virraghavachari and other patriotic Indians founded *The Hindu,* an English weekly, in Madras in 1878, which was converted into an English daily in 1889. *The Hindu* had a liberal outlook but supported, though critically, the politics of the Indian National Congress.

It was during this period the *Bangbasi* (weekly) and *Basumati* (daily/weekly), both in Bengali, were started. The former was founded by Babu Jogendranath Bose. Both were priced cheaply and mainly met the growing appetite of the people for news. Both these papers continued to be published and were organs of orthodox Hinduism in Bengal.

Indian nationalism found an organizational expression on an all-India basis in the rise of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The national awakening of the upper strata of the Indian people gathered rapid momentum after this. By the end of the century, a new current of political thought crystallized.

Alongside and almost contraposed to the leaders of the liberal nationalist school, emerged leaders of extremist or militant nationalism such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo and Barindra Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai.

The broadening and deepening of the nationalist movement after 1889 was reflected in the growth of the nationalist Press of various hues Tilak started *The Kesari*, a Marathi journal, in which he expounded the ideology and methodology of struggle for national freedom conceived by the new school Tilak was a journalist of consummate ability and, in his hands, *The Kesari* and *The Maratha* (an English weekly) became effective weapons to instil militant nationalist sentiments and ideas among the people. *The Kesari* continued to be published in Marathi as a bi-weekly. Tilak was sentenced to imprisonment twice for his article in *The Kesari*

The Jugantar and *The Bandemataram* were the two influential organs of the Bengal group of militant nationalists led by the Ghose brothers to spread their views of national freedom and reconstruction They were organs of agitation against the Partition of Bengal and of propaganda of Swadeshi and Boycott

The national awakening extended to the sphere of social reform also *The Indian Social Reformer*, an English weekly, primarily devoted to the propaganda of social reform, was started in Bombay in 1890

Mr Sachhidananda Sinha founded *The Hindustan Review*, an English monthly, in 1899. The magazine had a liberal political and ideological tone

Its Subsequent Development

In Madras, Mr G A Natesan started in 1900 *The Indian Review*, an English monthly

In Calcutta, Ramanand Chatterjee started in 1907 *The Modern Review*, an English monthly, the most famous monthly in India. The magazine was devoted to themes of social, political, historical, and scientific interest. It also gave interesting and useful information about international events It usually endorsed the right wing in the Indian National Congress

After the split in the Indian National Congress in 1907 at Surat between the Moderates and the Extremists, the leaders of the former group such as Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and Mr Gokhale, acutely felt the necessity of an organ of propaganda for their views in Bombay.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta started The *Bombay Chronicle* in 1913 with B G Horniman as its first editor Under the able and experienced editorship of Horniman *The Bombay Chronicle* soon became popular

During the First World War (1914-18), while one section of the nationalist leaders (the Liberals and Gandhi), trusted the pledge of the British government to meet the political demands of the Indian people and stood for wholehearted support to Britain in war, another section led by Tilak stood for organizing countrywide agitation for securing self-government without delay. Dr Annie Besant, who sympathized with this demand, took over *The Madras Standard* (in English) and changed its name to *New India* which became the propaganda organ of the Home Rule movement

The Servants of India Society, in 1918, started its official organ, *Servant of India* (an English weekly), under the editorship of Shrinivas Shastri The paper gave the analysis and solution of the Indian problem from a liberal nationalist viewpoint. It ceased publication in 1939

The immediate post-war period witnessed the first wave of nationalist mass movement in India It was the result of a profound political and economic crisis and the resultant ferment among the people. The movement was led by Gandhi, C R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Ali Brothers, Hazarat Mohani, and other leaders of the Congress and Khilafat organizations The movement expressed as well as further intensified the national consciousness of the Indian people. This led to the further growth of the Indian nationalist press

In 1919 Gandhi edited *Young India*, making it the mouthpiece of his political philosophy, programmes, and policies. Subsequently, he also started *Harijan* (a weekly published in English, Hindi and a number of vernaculars), after 1933

Pandit Motilal Nehru started *The Independent* (an English daily), in Allahabad in 1919 which served as the political propaganda organ of the Congress official viewpoint. Shivaprasad Gupta founded *The Aj* (a daily/weekly) in Hindi The declared object in starting *The Aj* was to bring politics and culture to the masses who did not know Enklish In subsequent years, a number of political and literary magazines and newspapers sprang up in the Hindi language

Sometime after the end of the Non-Co-operation move-

ment, a section of the Indian National Congress led by Nehru (senior) and C R Das formed the Swaraj Party within the Congress differing from the other section on the issue of Council Entry The latter wanted to maintain the boycott of the councils and stood for exclusively implementing Gandhi's Constructive Programme The leader of the Swaraj Party started *The Hindustan Times* (an English daily) in Delhi in 1922 under the editorship of K. M Pannikar to carry on propaganda for its programme

The People, an English nationalist weekly, was also started during this period in Lahore due to the effort of Lala Lajpat Rai.

After 1923, socialist and communist ideas began to spread slowly in India

Kranti, a Marathi weekly and an official organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, and *Spark* and *New Spark*, both English weeklies respectively edited by M G Desai and Lester Hutchinson, both of whom were involved in the Meerut Conspiracy case, had, as their declared aim, the spread of Marxism in India and support to the independent political and economic movements of the workers and peasants and the struggle for national independence

Between 1930 and 1939, the workers' and peasants' movements gathered further strength and scope. Socialist and communist ideas penetrated to Congress youth Thus there came into existence the Congress Socialist Party, which published *The Congress Socialist*, an English weekly, as its main official organ The communists had *National Front* and subsequently *Peoples' War*, both English weeklies, as principal organs of their propaganda.

M N Roy, differing from the official communists, formed his own group with *Independent India*, an English weekly, as its main official organ.

In 1930, *The Free Press Journal*, an English daily, edited by S Sadanand, was founded. It was very cheaply priced It was a staunch supporter of the Congress demand and struggle for independence.

With the social, political, and cultural advance of the Indian people, the newspaper Press expanded Magazines, dailies, and weeklies were published in all provinces, in all important towns, in vernaculars, English, Hindi, and Urdu The journal-

istic literature embraced all subjects such as politics economics, social, educational and cultural problems, and problems of technical and scientific significance. Only the most important of them have been mentioned above

Different political parties, cultural and scientific groups, socio-economic groups such as landlords, industrialists, workers and kisans, and social groups such as students, women, and depressed classes, had their special Press organs to propagate their programmes and views Communal organizations, such as the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, published their own organs.

About 4,000 printed newspapers and magazines were published in the country, in 1941, in seventeen languages [1]

Indian Press, Its Broad Political Trends

These newspapers and periodicals could be divided into a number of categories

The Statesman, The Times of India, The Civil and Military Gazette, The Pioneer, and The Madras Mail, were prominent organs which generally defended the views and actions of the British government and administration in India

Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Bombay Chronicle, The Bombay Sentinel, The Hindustan Times, The Hindustan Standard, The Free Press Journal, Harijan, National Herald, and *National Call,* were prominent nationalist dailies and weeklies in English *The Hindu, The Leader, The Indian Social Reformer, The Modern Review* were some the outstanding journals reflecting the liberal school of nationalism Broadly, the nationalist papers supported the Indian National Congress, its programmes and policies, while liberal papers supported programmes of the Indian National Congress critically. *Dawn* represented the views of the Muslim League.

Student organizations in the country published their own organs such as *Student* and *Sathi.*

The vernacular Press was also rapidly expanding in India *Jana Sakti, Anand Bazar Patrika, Bangbasi,* in Bengali; *Kesari, Lokamanya, Navakal,* and *Kirloskar,* in Marathi; *Bombay Samachar, Janmabhoomi, Hindustan* and *Praja Mitra, Sandesh,* and *Vandemataram,* in Gujarati, *Matribhumi,* in Malayalam, *Swadeshamitram* in Tamil, these and others were some

of the prominent dailies and weeklies in these languages.

Ittihad, Ajmal, Hamdam, Khilafat, Tej, and *Riyasat,* were some of the prominent organs published in Urdu

Vir Arjun, Aj, Sainik, and *Vishwamitra,* were some of the prominent Hindi publications

Reuters extended to India in 1860, the Associated Press of India founded in 1905, the Free Press News Service in 1927, and the United Press of India in 1934, were the principal news services in the country

Its Slow and Meagre Growth, Reasons

Though the newspaper Press was steadily expanding in India, the rate of its growth was slow

Mass illiteracy, great poverty, and repressive Press Laws, were considered by the critics as handicaps to the rapid growth of the newspaper Press in the country. A number of Press Acts, requiring security from the press and placing other handicaps on its free functioning, constituted a formidable obstacle in the way of the swift growth of the Indian Press

Since the Press was a powerful weapon in the development of Indian nationalism and of the nationalist movement, it was subjected to restrictions by the British government which was reluctant to satisfy the aspirations and grant the demands of Indian nationalism. The very fact that the British government had to enact, during its rule, a series of Press Acts of varying stringency, eloquently proved the decisive role played by the Press in the development of the nationalist movement.

Indian nationalism, from its very inception, recognized the value of the Press in rousing the people to national consciousness and put up a tenacious resistance to all attempts to curtail its freedom The history of the struggle for the freedom The history of the struggle for the freedom of the Press had, therefore, been an integral part of the nationalist struggle. The freedom of the Press was one of the basic democratic liberties which Indian nationalism, in all its stages of evolution, cherished and fought for

The peculiar situation of India which was governed by a foreign nation made a free Indian Press a controversial question even among the British themselves During the nine-

teenth century, while Wellesley, Minto, Adam, Canning, and Lytton stood for a drastic restriction of the freedom of the Press, Hastings, Metcalfe, Macaulay, and Ripon, argued in favour of a more or less free Press in India.[5]

On the ground that a foreign nation ruled a backward people and that a free Press would seriously damage the discipline of the army, even liberal British leaders like Sir Thomas Munro and Lord Elphinstone, favoured strong restrictions to be placed on the Indian Press.[6]

Repressive Measures Against Press, Their History

Historically, however, the history of the Indian Press was the history of the increasing diminution of its liberty, in spite of minor vicissitudes The history of Indian nationalism proves that, in the proportion that it grew, the freedom of the Press in India suffered a proportional curtailment.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the pioneer of the Indian nationalist Press, was also the first fighter for the freedom of the Indian Press. When, during the period of Adam, an attack on the freedom of the Press was launched, he along with enlightened nationalist Indians such as Chandra Kumar Tagore, Harchandra Ghose, Dwarkanath Tagore, Gauri Charan Banerji, and Prasanna Kumar Tagore, drafted a petition to be submitted to the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The petition condemned the projected attack on the freedom of the Press as undemocratic, inexpedient, and reactionary. The signatories of this petition were the pioneers of the struggle for the freedom of the Press in India Miss Sophia Collet extolled this petition as 'the Areopagitica of Indian history' R. C Dutt described it as the beginning of 'that system of constitutional agitation for political rights which their countrymen have learnt to value so much in the present day.'[7]

It was the Marquess of Wellesley who in 1799 appointed an official censor entrusted with the duty of passing all matter for publication and framed drastic rules to punish those who infringed them Hastings abolished the Press censorship and removed most of the restrictions in 1818 The atmosphere of relative freedom of the Press, which the measures of Hastings created, stimulated the emergence of Indian newspapers such as the *Bombay Samachar* published in 1822.

Adam, the Acting Governor-General in 1823, launched repressive measures against the Press. This provoked the protest of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his nationalist compeers Their petition was, however, rejected by the Supreme Court and the Press remained subjected to the new restrictions till 1835

Metcalfe, assisted by the liberal Macaulay, put forward an Act in 1835 repealing the restrictions on the Press in Bengal and Bombay The Act also made it no longer necessary to get a licence for the printing of books and papers.

Till 1857, there was considerable freedom of the Press in the country The outbreak of the Revolt prompted Lord Canning to pass the Press Act of 1857 known as the Gagging Act due to its drastic nature Under the Act, the government could control the establishment of printing presses and prevent, if it wished, the circulation of printed books and papers This Act was, however, to operate for one year only.

The Press and Registration of Books Act enacted in 1867 restricted the freedom of the printing and publication of books and newspapers In 1878, the Vernacular Press Act imposing serious restrictions on the freedom of the vernacular Press, which was rapidly growing and becoming the organ of nationalist views and criticism of the British government, was passed.

Lord Ripon, who had liberal views, repealed the Vernacular Press Act in 1882.

Till 1908, the Indian Press enjoyed considerable freedom However, due to the phenomenal growth of the nationalist movement in the previous ten years, the government decided to curtail the freedom of the Press. The Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed in 1908 and the Indian Press Act in 1910

Sir Jenkins on Press Act of 1910

The Press Act of 1910 was the most severe measure hitherto adopted by the British government in India against the Indian Press It considerably extended the power of the executive over the Press and its free functioning by empowering it to demand heavy securities which could be forfeited at will and to confiscate printing plants of offending papers Though the

right of appeal to the courts was provided, this right was not of much value. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, an English judge of an Indian Court, remarked. 'The provisions of section 4 are very comprehensive, and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not plausibly be extended by an ingenious mind They would certainly extend to writings that many even command approval. . . An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives in the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread net, the praise of a class might not be free from risk Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.'[8]

Section 4 alluded to was a part of the Press Act of 1910 It was subsequently incorporated in the Acts of both 1931 and 1932.

This comment of an English Judge of an Indian High Court was a strong testimony proving the repressive nature of the Press Act of 1910.

As a result of country-wide nationalist agitation against the Act as well as the previous Acts, the Press Law Repeal and Amendment Act of 1922 was passed whereby the Press Act of 1910 and the Newspaper Act of 1908 were repealed, and the Press and Registration of Books Act and the Post Office Act were relaxed

Press Acts of 1931 *and* 1932, *Their Significance*

The Indian Press enjoyed relative freedom till 1930. The nationalist movement, in its mass form, had declined and subsided between 1922 and 1929 But again with the rise of the new wave of the movement in 1929, the government decided to arm itself with powers to curb the Press. The Indian Press Emergency Powers Act was passed in 1931 The Act was subsequently reinforced and expanded by the incorporation into it of the Emergency Powers Ordinances of 1932 It was also amended by sections 14, 15 and 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932 'The amending Act of 1932 (the Ordinance Act) rendered the Press law more drastic, extended its scope and armed the Executive with greater powers than even the Act of 1931'[9]

The Press Law of 1931 in its subsequently amended

form seriously curtailed the freedom of the Indian Press. Under it, the Executive had wide powers to demand securities and to forfeit them Its scope was so comprehensive that the newspapers of even moderate or liberal types were not beyond its reach The Act explicitly described 'the better control of the Press' as its aim. Among the new offences against which it was directed, were included publications which tended directly or indirectly, 'to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, or the administration of justice or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects, or excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government'. It also penalized intimidation, interference with the administration or maintenance of law and order, payment of land revenue, rent of agricultural land, or anything recoverable as arrears of rent or other items, inducing public servants to resign office, promoting feelings of hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects [10]

The Act was thus very comprehensive in its range 'A study of the clauses will show the discretion of magistrate, police officers and the "Local Government" decides what the Press may or may not do.'[11]

The government itself recognized the drastic nature of the Act Sir Harry Haig, the Home Member, remarked in the Central Assembly, 'I recognize, Sir, and the Government fully recognize that the provisions .. are irksome to responsible editors, and there are many such. I am well aware, Sir, of the difficulties that well conducted papers feel'[12]

Under the Press Law of 1932, the government frequently prohibited the publication of certain news items in the papers of one province while those in other provinces published them It also interfered with 'double-column headlines, display types, even the arrangement and position given to a news item' and the publication of photographs of certain political leaders These were felt as very galling restrictions by Indian journalists and publicists

The Foreign Relations Act of 1932 penalized publications calculated to interfere 'with the maintenance of friendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of certain foreign States'. The Indian States (Protection) Act was enacted in 1934 'to protect the Administrations of States in India which are under the suzerainty of His Ma-

jesty from activities which tend to subvert, or to excite disaffection towards, or to obstruct such Administrations' This Act also penalized all publications which tended 'to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection towards the Administration established in any State in India'

These two Acts further diminished the freedom of the Indian Press

Three News Agencies

There existed by 1941 three main news agencies in the country, namely, Reuters, the Associated Press, and the Free Press News Service The government subscribed to the first two and used them for transmitting government news. The third was an Indian enterprise and selected and distributed news from the nationalist standpoint.

The practical monopoly of Reuters (which had the support of the government) to supply India with all foreign news and the outside world with Indian news prevented Indian nationalists from providing the outside world with information of Indian events selected and interpreted from the nationalist standpoint.

To suit the policy of the British government, Reuters delayed transmission of certain types of news to the outside world 'The facts of the Amritsar massacre were withheld from knowledge for over seven months, and were as little realized by the general public in Britain '[13]

The government support in various ways was regarded indispensable for establishing a successful news agency by those Indians who worked for it. 'We reached the conclusion that so long as the Government shows partisanship to certain news organizations, financially and otherwise, it is impossible for other companies to become established '[14]

There existed restrictions also on the importation of certain species of foreign literature into India, primarily of left character There was a section of the Sea Customs Department to enforce these restrictions This ban prevented the Indian people from getting adequate information about some of the movements and ideologies of other countries

The Indian nationalist movement always agitated against the various measures of the government to diminish the free-

dom of the Press The struggle for the freedom of the Press was an integral part of the national movement Various groups and organizations such as the group of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his fellow pioneers of Indian nationalism, the Moderates, the Liberals, the Extremists, the Besantine Home Rulers, the Indian National Congress under Gandhi, the Socialists, the Communists, Students' Organizations, Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, and the All-India Civil Liberties Union, criticized the various measures of the government which reduced the liberty of the Press.

This only demonstrated the great importance of the Press for the growth and development of the nationalist movement

The All-India Civil Liberties Union working for the defence of the democratic liberties of the Indian people also fought for the liberty of the Press

There were other organizations such as the All-India Journalists' Association, All-India Editors' Conference, and Progressive Writers' Conference, which also fought for the freedom of the Press

Indian Press, Its Progressive Role

The Press was a powerful factor in building and developing Indian nationalism and the nationalist movement, social, cultural, political, and economic.

The national movement, on its political side, was possible because of the facility of political education and propaganda provided by the Press. With its help, the Indian nationalist groups were able to popularise among the poeple the ideas of representative government, liberty, democratic institutions, Home Rule, Dominion Status, and Independence Through it, they could carry on daily criticism of the measures of the British government and administration and educate the people in the understanding of political problems

The Press was a weapon, in the hands of the nationalist groups, to popularize among the people their respective political programmes, policies, and methods of struggle, and to form organizations with a broad popular basis

Without the Press, all-India conferences of nationalist organizations could not have been prepared and held and big political movements organized and directed For instance, it

was to *Young India* of Gandhi, the leader of the Indian National Congress, that the Congressmen and Congress supporters looked for directives for their political activities during the great mass movement of 1930-32

Since the Press was a powerful weapon of the nationalist struggle, Indian nationalists of all hues staunchly fought for its freedom throughout the existence of the Indian nationalist movement

The vital role of the Press in the building of Indian nationalism and national movement could be shown by the fact that, 'In India, from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Keshub Chunder Sen, Gokhale, Tilak, Pherozshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, C. Y Chintamani, M K Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, there is a distinguished line of public men who have used, and are using, the Press as a medium for the dissemination of their ideas of "moral values."[15]

The Press alone made possible the large scale, swift, and constant exchange of views among different social groups inhabiting various parts of the country The establishment and extension of the Press in India brought about a closer social and intellectual contact between provincial populations. It also made possible the daily and extensive discussion of programmes of inter-provincial and national collaboration in spheres of social, political and cultural matters, and the holding of national conferences, social, political, and cultural National committees were appointed to implement the programmes adopted at these conferences throughout the country This led to the building of an increasingly rich, complex, social, and cultural, national existence

The Press also helped the growth of provincial literatures and cultures, which were provincial in form and national in content In Bengal, Maharashtra, Andhra, Gujarat, Malabar, U.P and other provinces, there came into existence rich provincial literatures, poetic, dramatic, and novel

The Press was an effective weapon in the hands of social reform groups to expose social evils such as caste fetters, child marriage, ban on remarriage of widows, social, legal, and other inequalities from which women suffered and others. It also helped them to organize propaganda on a vast scale against such inhuman institutions as untouchability. It became a weapon in their hands to proclaim to the broad mass of the

people, principles, programmes and methods, of democratic reconstruction of the Indian society It was also by means of the Press that social reformers, all over the country, were able to maintain a permanent discussion about the best programmes of the solution of social evils and to prepare and hold All-India Social Conferences with a view to chalking out a common line

Further, the Press also brought the Indian people knowledge of the happenings in the international world The Press has been one of the principal forces which has helped various nations to build up a world outlook and shape their own national programmes and policies on the basis of a comprehension of world development as a whole The Press became also a weapon to construct solidarity ties between the progressive forces of different countries

Such was the vital role of the Press in the building up of an increasingly strong national sentiment and consciousness among the Indian people, in the development and consolidation of their growing nationalist movement, in the creation of national and provincial literatures and cultures, and in the forging of bonds of fraternity with other progressive peoples and classes in the outer world

Prerequisites of Its Sound Development

The following were the chief factors which obstructed the development of a free, extensive, well ramified, and progressive Press in India

(1) Restrictions imposed on the freedom of the Press by the government

(2) Widespread poverty of the people which restricted the sale of papers, periodicals, and publications, even among the literate sections

(3) Mass illiteracy

(4) Growing tendency of monopoly control of the Press by a few wealthy British and Indian groups (The increasing growth of monopoly in the sphere of the Press only reflected the general growth of monopoly in economy)

Therefore, it logically followed that large scale and free use of the Press as a level of social, economic, and cultural progress of the mass of the Indian people, was possible only

in an independent India free both from the British rule and from foreign and Indian vested interests

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CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AS THE EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC AWAKENING

Reform Movements, Expression of Rising Nationalism

THE VARIOUS socio-reform and religio-reform movements which took place in India during the British rule were the expression of the rising national consciousness and spread of the liberal ideas of the west among the Indian people These movements increasingly tended to have a national scope and programme of reconstruction in the social and religious spheres.

In the social sphere, there were movements of caste reform or caste abolition, equal rights for women, a campaign against child marriage and a ban on widow remarriage, a crusade against social and legal inequalities

In the religious sphere, there sprang up movements which combated religious superstitions and attacked idolatry, polytheism, and hereditary priesthood

These movements, in varying degrees, emphasized and fought for the principles of individual liberty and social equality and stood for nationalism

The new society which was developing in India since the advent of the British rule had distinct needs differing from those of the old society

The new intelligentsia, which imbibed the Liberal western culture, recognized these needs and launched movements to reform or revolutionize social institutions, religious outlooks, and ethical conceptions inherited from the past, since they felt that these were obstacles to national advance They were convinced that the new society could politically, culturally, and economically develop only on the basis of liberal principles

such as the recognition of individual liberty, freedom of unfettered expression of human personality, and social equality

The reform movements represented the striving of the conscious and progressive sections of the Indian people to democratize social institutions and remodel old religious outlooks to suit the new social needs

It was the grievance of the Indian social reformers that the slow advance of social reform was due to the insufficient support to it by the British government which, they asserted, did not actively assist them in the work of storming the citadels of social reaction and injustices in the country The rate at which the social reform legislation was enacted was too slow and generally undertaken under the pressure of the advanced opinion in the country It is true that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the British rulers themselves initiated such progressive legislation as the abolition of slavery, suttee, and infanticide. However, their attitude suffered a change later on In fact, the Age of Consent Act passed in 1891 was the only important social reform legislation enacted by the government during many decades prior to that date This only strengthened the determination of the leaders of the Indian national movement to secure political power so that they could use it to accelerate the tempo of social and religious reform in India

Their Democratic Yearnings

Indian nationalism felt democratic yearnings from its birth The socio-reform and religio-reform movements embodied these yearnings In varying degrees, these movements sought to eliminate privilege from the social and religious fields, to democratize social and religious institutions of the country, to reform or dissolve such disruptive institutions as caste which were obstacles to national unity They sought to establish equal rights of all individuals irrespective of caste or sex

The reformers argued that such democratization of institutions and social relations was vitally necessary to build up a sound national unity to achieve political freedom and social, economic, and cultural advance of the Indian people

The national democratic awakening found expression in all fields of national life In politics, it gave birth to the move-

ment of administrative reform, Self-Government, Home Rule, Dominion Status and, finally, Independence. In the social and religious spheres, Indian nationalism proclaimed the principles of individual liberty, equality, and self-determination It attacked the undemocratic principle of birth and exclusive privileges based on birth, on which such institutions as castes were reared Indian nationalism was thus democratic in essence and, as such, struggled against both medievalism and foreign rule The socio-reform and religio-reform movements were the expression of the national awakening in India and aimed at a revision of the medieval social structure and religious outlook on a more or less democratic basis, i e. on the principle of individual liberty and human equality

CHAPTER XIV

CRUSADE AGAINST CASTE SYSTEM

Caste System, 'Steel Frame of Hinduism'

THE CASTE system of the Hindus, which divided the Hindu community into a multitude of almost hermetically sealed groups, hierarchically graded and based on birth, was one of the principal targets of the socio-reform movement

The caste system was 'the steel frame of Hinduism' It was more ancient than the Vedas which recorded its existence at that time Originally, the Hindu society seems to have been differentiated into three or four castes. Subsequently, however, as a result of the operation of such factors as racial admixture, geographical expansion, and growth of crafts which brought into existence new vocations, the original castes (*varnas*) broke up into various smaller castes and sub-castes (*jatis*)

While Hinduism made for the cultural unity of all Hindus in the past, the caste system socially disintegrated them into an ever increasing number of groups and sub-groups In all vital social matters such as marriage, vocation and dining, each such group or sub-group was an exclusive unit

The caste system was undemocratic and authoritarian in the extreme. The castes constituting the series were hierarchically graded, each caste being considered inferior to those above it and superior to those below it. The status of a man born in a particular caste was determined by the rank of that caste in this hierarchy Once born in that caste, his status was predetermined and immutable. Thus birth decided his status which could not be altered by any talent he might show or wealth he might accumulate.

Similarly, the caste in which a man was born predeter-

mined what vocation he would pursue He had no choice. Thus birth decided the occupation of a man

The rule of endogamy governed every caste or sub-caste. A person belonging to one caste could not marry a person of the other caste. Thus birth restricted the zone of selection in the matter of matrimony.

'It (caste) has given an aristocracy of birth not of merit It has rendered the free adaptation of individual talent and capacity to particular social work for which it is best fitted, impossible It has stifled initiative, self-confidence and the spirit of enterprise It prevents the growth of a nationality and the development of a democratic state It has created the untouchable problem '[1]

Since the caste system was hierarchically graded, it was based on social and legal inequalities For example, at the apex of this social pyramid stood the caste of Brahmins who had the monopoly right to officiate as priests with exclusive access to all higher religious and secular learning and knowledge while, at the base swarmed the mass of Shudras together with the untouchables and even unapproachables whom the scheme of the Hindu society, sanctified by the Hindu religion and enforced by the coercive power of the Hindu state, had assigned the duty of serving all other castes and constrained to follow, under the threat of severest penalty, such low vocations as those of scavengers, tanners and others

The uniqueness of the caste system did not consist in that it was based on differences of functions Its specificness lay in the fact that it made birth the basis of social groupings 'It implies not only the negation of equality but the organization of inequality exclusively on the basis of inheritance Differences there will be in any imaginable society, differences of function at all events It is not in recognizing their inevitability that caste is peculiar, it is in the method it adopts to systematize and control them '[2]

Caste Vs Classes

Since birth determined the caste of a person, he could not alter it It is in this that the caste contrasted with the modern class, the offspring of the capitalist system of society

'Castes were groups with a well-developed life of their own, the membership whereof, unlike that of voluntary associations and of classes, was determined not by selection but by birth The status of a person depended not on his wealth as in the classes of modern Europe, but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the luck of being born On the distinction between caste and class, as far only as cleavage into well-marked groups is concerned, MacIver observes "Whereas in eastern civilizations the chief determinant of class and status was birth, in the western civilization of today wealth is a class determinant of equal or perhaps greater importance, and wealth is a less rigid determinant than birth· it is more concrete, and thus its claims are more easily challenged, itself a matter of degree, it is less apt to create distinctions of kind, alienable, acquirable, and transferable, it draws no such permanent lines of cleavage as does birth "[3]

'A class has no council, standing or occasional, to regulate the conduct and guide the morals of its members, apart from the laws of the community as a whole '[4]

In fact, the caste committees had quasi-legal powers to punish its offending members such as excommunication, fines and even corporal punishment. A member of a caste owed allegiance first to his caste and then to the community. This naturally weakened the feeling of community solidarity in him.

Since each caste had its own conception of the norm of conduct which it forced on its members, it became culturally separated from other castes which had other conceptions of ethics Each caste thus became a separate socio-cultural group.

Further, the caste system was sanctified by the sanction of religion Its very genesis was attributed to God Brahman.[5] If a member of a caste infringed the caste rules, he did not merely commit a crime against the caste but perpetrated a sin against religion Thus, religion fortified the hold of the caste over its members

In fact, the basic demand of Hinduism on its follower was that he should gladly accept 'the social position in which he was born', i e his caste since it was divinely ordained and should fulfil meticulously the duties which that caste assigned to him This alone would guarantee salvation (Moksha) for him and make him eligible for higher levels of cosmic existence after his death

Since caste controlled his life including such vital personal affairs as marriage, vocation, and social intercourse such as eating with others, and since behind the imperatives of the

caste stood the sanction of religion, the coercive power of the Hindu state as well as the penal authority with which the caste itself was armed, the individual was almost completely shorn of personal liberty. He could not choose his profession, he could not marry whom he desired, he could not eat with whomever he liked. And, further, the rank of the caste in which he was born, in the finely graded caste hierarchy, determined his social status and position in the eye of the law of the state which was not uniform but varied according to the caste a person belonged to.

The hierarchic construction of the castes gave rise to inequalities among them Even in matters of residence, the lower castes were segregated from the higher ones and were assigned separate quarters of the village or the town for residence. The untouchables and other 'impure' castes who formed the nethermost layers of the caste-ridden Hindu society were further debarred from the right of using the public wells and tanks The right of temple entry was also denied to them Under the aegis of the caste system, social oppression reached even such inhuman limits that certain sections of the lowest castes were not merely branded as untouchables but even unapproachables Their mere sight contaminated and an unapproachable who, wittingly or unwittingly, happened to come within the ocular vision of the holy Brahmin, was often meted out most brutal punishment[6]

Caste System, Its Chief Features

Hierarchic gradation, social and other inequalities, endogamy, restrictions on dining, and the lack of freedom regarding the choice of vocation, were the principal features of the caste system.

"To sum up, in each linguistic area, there were about two hundred groups called castes with distinct names, usually birth on one of which determined the status in society of a given individual, which were divided into about two thousand smaller units—generally known as sub-castes—fixing the limits of marriage and effective social life and making for specific cultural tradition These major groups were held together by the possession, with few exceptions, of a common priesthood

Complete acceptance of the system in its broadest outlines by the groups making up that system and their social and economic interdependence in the village not only prevented the exclusivist organiza-

tion of the groups from splitting up the system into independent units, but created a harmony in civic life Of course, this harmony was not the harmony of parts that are equally valued, but of units which are rigorously subordinated to one another'[7]

The caste system thrived and persisted for many centuries primarily because of the low level of economic existence of the Indian people. The pre-capitalist economy on which it rested was primarily based on the village autarchy, the absence of appreciable development of exchange relations, and extremely weak and meagre means of transport.

The caste system lost whatever usefulness it might have in the past under the new social, economic, and political conditions ushered in by the British conquest of India and its far-reaching consequences

Growing Disintegration of Caste System, Causes

The economic foundations of the caste were shattered by the new economic forces and forms introduced into India as a result of the British conquest. The destruction of the village autarchy, the creation of private property in land, the steady industrialization of the country which evolved new vocations and created modern cities which were the solvents of a number of caste taboos and restrictions, the spread of a network of railways and buses which made possible, for the first time in the Indian history, mass travelling, resulting in willing and unwilling mass contact—these were some of the principal factors which undermined the vocational basis of the castes and exclusive habits of their members

Impact of New Property Relations

With the creation of the right to own property in land and manipulate it at will and of the scope for other professions, industrial, commercial, administrative or liberal such as that of a doctor or a lawyer, centrifugal tendencies appeared in the joint family in the village The demand for partition of property increased among its members who frequently migrated to the town and took to other vocations.

The new land revenue system together with the technical backwardness of Indian agriculture, the rising indebtedness

of the agriculturists and overpressure on agriculture due to the ruination of the handicrafts not balanced by any proportionate industrial development in the country, also forced a section of these farmers to migrate to cities, where they became factory workers or domestic servants This also disorganized the vocational basis of caste

The British government expropriated the caste committees of penal powers to chastise its members for the infringement of caste rules This together with economic necessity as well as new economic opportunities created by the new political and economic situation, led the members of castes to cease following the hereditary ancestral vocations prescribed to them by the castes A Brahmin, instead of pursuing the caste-dictated function of a priest or a teacher, became a doctor, a merchant, a millowner, a clerk, or an air pilot. 'Economic necessity or ambition is leading educated Brahmins to careers in such industries as the leather trade, which fifty years ago would have been regarded with horror'[8]

Impact of Modern Cities

Modern industries brought into being modern cities honeycombed with cosmopolitan hotels, restaurants, theatres, trams, buses, railways The demarcation observed by the members of different castes regarding eating food in proximity to or physical contact with those of other castes, steadily crumbled Necessity to associate with the members of other castes and even communities in vocation or at social functions accelerated the process of this breakdown 'Intercourse with Europeans and social entertainments associated with political or economic conferences are bringing together men and women of all castes and no caste'[9]

A Brahmin mill magnate dined at the Taj with a Shudra fellow-mill magnate The modest hotels and restaurants catering for the workers and middle classes became crowded in cities with persons belonging to all castes and even creeds

In trains and buses one occasionally rubbed shoulders with members of the depressed classes, sometimes even with an untouchable The parafernalia of modern social existence did not recognize caste or communal divisions, but was impartially at the disposal of all those who could pay for its use

It should not, however, be supposed that caste had vanished. Even in the cities, desperate attempts were made by the orthodox caste people to scrupulously observe rules of eating as prescribed by caste It was the historical tendency towards an increasing breakdown of these practices that has been pointed out above

Impact of New Legal System

The British government, by introducing a uniform system of law in the country, dealt a severe blow to the social and legal inequalities rampant in the Hindu society in the pre-British period. Formerly, caste status determined the punishment for an offence The Hindu state and the caste and village committees dealt out varying punishment for the same offence to delinquents of different castes Equality before law, irrespective of caste, was now established

The expropriation of the caste committees of all penal powers by the British government deprived caste of a powerful physical weapon to stampede its recalcitrant members into submission Castes became only voluntary associations which commanded no sanction of law when they inflicted on their members fines or such other punishment for infringement of caste rules. This considerably weakened the power of caste

Such legislation as the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850, the Special Marriage Act of 1872 and Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923 contributed to undermine the edifice of caste

Impact of New Social Formations

The new economic system brought about a new grouping of the population in the economic sphere. Caste groupings based on former functional divisions no longer corresponded to new functional divisions The Indian people became differentiated into such categories as capitalists, workers, peasant proprietors, merchants, tenants, land labourers, doctors, lawyers, technicians, each category being composed of individuals belonging to various castes and communities but having identical material and political interests. This horizontal division on new class lines increasingly weakened the old vertical caste

lines. Thus there came into existence such organizations as Millowners' Associations, All-India Trade Union Congress, All-India Kishan Sabha, Landlords' Unions These groups struggled for their own interests In the process of these struggles they developed a new consciousness and outlook and a new solidarity, which slowly weakened the caste consciousness of their members. The class organizations and united class actions of these class groups steadily educated the Indian people into new class outlooks and habits To that extent, they were steadily undermining the caste

Impact of Class Struggles

In strike struggles, not only the workers belonging to the upper castes but even those belonging to the untouchable community fought unitedly for the common purpose of increasing the wage and improving working conditions Similarly, the capitalists, no matter Brahmin, Vaishya or Chamar, united together to defend their interests against the workers In fact, the class unity embraced even the members of Muslim or Christian communities, who were of the same class. The historical tendency was towards the strengthening of the class tie and weakening of the caste bond, since the class was based on the contemporary economic reality, on the new economic division of society, on the identical material interests of the members of a class.

A class was further based on the national economy. Caste, in pre-British India, when it had a vocational basis, rested on the local town or village economy There were no common material interests of all farmers or artisans constituting the castes of farmers and artisans on an all-India scale since those farmers and artisans were split up into local groups in a multitude of autarchic villages and towns Local groups of farmers or artisans had only local interests and were therefore locally united,[10] in contrast to the subsequent unity of different classes such as farmers, workers, merchants, or millowners on an all-India basis

Differences of vocations brought about differences in income and resultant divergences of standard of life These also engendered differences in psychological habits, outlooks, and aspirations Anti-caste urges began to grow It was only due

to the old psychological habits, inertia, and lack of moral courage, that anti-caste moods did not lead to large scale practical revolt against caste on the part of its members

Impact of Modern Education

The role of modern education in weakening the regard for caste should not be underestimated. In pre-British India, whatever education was there, was under the monopolistic guidance of the Brahmin caste and was saturated through and through with religion Since the caste system was sanctified by the sanction of the Hindu religion, this education, saturated with the religious spirit of Hinduism, trained the people in accepting the caste system and built up a caste conscience in the individual The individual accepted caste as divinely ordained and considered infringement of caste rules as sacrilege One of the tasks of the pre-British education was to inoculate in the individual reverence for the caste scheme of the Hindu society and make him a willing and enthusiastic adherent of the claims of caste

The British government secularized education It made it accessible to anyone, irrespective of caste or community, who could pay for it In spite of its distortions and limitations, this education remained liberal in content It propagated principles such as the equality of men before law, equal rights of all citizens of the state, equal freedom to follow any vocation It was based on European Liberalism It popularized such ideas as those of representative institutions, the freedom of association or assembly It is true that the British rule was the rule of an alien people over the Indian nation and, therefore, an undemocratic phenomenon. Still, the education organized by that rule was secular and basically liberal, in contrast to the education in pre-British India which endorsed caste distinctions of the Hindu society and upheld privilege.

A section of the educated class of the Hindu society, who studied the liberal philosophy and democratic institutions of the western countries, became the standard bearer of anti-caste revolt It was the group of enlightened Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chandra Sen and others, who made the reform of caste one of the fundamental items of their programme.

As education spread to the lower strata of the Hindu society, it kindled libertarian impulses among those age-long victims of the Hindu social system. This gave rise to such anti-caste movements as the movement of the depressed classes under the leadership of Dr Ambedkar, himself springing from the submerged strata, the Self Respect Movement in South India, and others.

Impact of Political Movements

The growth of the nationalist movement played a great role in weakening caste consciousness In India, the presence of the foreign rule was a permanent stimulus to the Indian people to unite on a national basis In proportion that the national struggle against the British rule increased in scope and intensity, the narrow local, provincial, caste, and communal consciousness also weakened Such political organizations as the Liberal Federation, the Indian National Congress, and others, however different their programmes, strategic principles, and methods of struggle might have been, were not based on caste or community They appealed to all Indians to become their members irrespective of caste or creed Also the political structure they visualized for India did not admit of any caste privilege

The role of the political movements such as the N C O Movement of 1921-2, the C D Movement of 1930-3, and others, in strengthening national consciousness among the Indian people was tremendous Themselves the expression of national consciousness whatever their programmes and techniques of struggle, these movements further deepened and extended national consciousness among the people

Thus the growth of the national movement undermined, to some extent, the caste consciousness of the Hindus

In fact, both class and national movements contributed to weaken the caste consciousness of the Indian people

Caste System, Its Reactionary Significance

The caste system became an obstacle both to the development of the contemporary economy established during the British rule in India as also to the national unity so vital to win na-

tional freedom For the growth of industry, it was necessary to have plenty of labour supply The rigid rule of caste forcing its every member to follow the hereditary occupation came in the way of the plentiful labour supply for industry The caste, demanding the foremost allegiance to itself, came also in the way of the paramount need of the subject people to subordinate every allegiance to the supreme allegiance to nationalism The ruination of artisans and impoverishment of farmers made it economically necessary for them to take to other vocations The spread of democratic ideas such as individual liberty kindled urges to revolt against caste distinctions and inequalities among the educated Indians Anti-caste movements were born out of this ferment and slowly gathered strength, though the main pillar of caste, endogamy, remained invulnerable

The caste system was one of the root causes which obstructed social reform in other fields of social life also 'On our side of the country, I mean in Gujerat, the greatest hindrance to all social reforms is the caste'[11]

It was the educated section of the Indian people who launched the attack on caste It sensed the anomaly of caste in new India For national freedom and advance, political, social, economic, and cultural, the caste structure had to be reformed, or even eliminated. The individual's liberty had to be recognized, his initiative freed from the stifling constraint of caste This alone could guarantee the unfoldment of all creative energies of the individuals composing the nation National progress demanded the emancipation of the individual from the shackles of caste Social justice had to be fulfilled by destroying all caste privileges and disabilities

The conforming to caste rules was demanded in the name of the individual's salvation after death. The social reformers propagated national progress as the objective of man

Movements Against Caste System

The social reformers attacked the very basic ideas of the medieval social system 'These ideas may be briefly set forth as isolation, submission to outward force or power more than the voice of the inward conscience, perception of fictitious differences between men and men, due to heredity and birth

a general indifference to secular wellbeing, almost bordering on fatalism These have been the root ideas of our ancient social system. They have, as their natural result, led to the existing family arrangements, where the woman is entirely subordinated to the man and the lower castes to the higher castes, to the length of depriving men of their natural respect for humanity.'[12]

The social reformers attacked inequality and separatism and stood for equality (in a Liberal bourgeois sense) and co-operation. They attacked heredity as the basis of distinctions, and the law of Karma which supplied the religio-philosophic defence of the undemocratic authoritarian caste institution They called on the people to work for betterment in the real world in which they lived rather than strive for salvation after death They branded the caste system as a powerful obstacle to the growth of national unity and solidarity[13]

There were different angles from which caste was attacked by different social reform groups Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, invoked the authority of Mahanirvana Tantra, an old religio-sociological work of Hinduism, to support his view that caste should no longer continue The Brahmo Samaj opposed the rigid social divisions, which caste implied, thus. 'When will those pernicious distinctions which are sapping the very life blood of our nation be at an end, and India rise as a strong, united nation fit to fulfil the high destiny which Providence has ordained for her? There cannot be a surer truth than this that high destiny cannot be fulfilled without the utter destruction of the supreme root of all our social evils, the caste system'[14]

Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen, who succeeded the Raja as successive leaders of the Samaj, were more critical of the Hindu scriptures than the Raja. It was Keshub Chandra Sen who, in most unambiguous categorical terms, repudiated the caste system without invoking any scriptural authority The spirit of social revolt which the Raja inaugurated reached a climax in the history of the Brahmo Samaj under the guidance of Keshub Chandra Sen

The pioneering work of the anti-caste movement first started by the Brahmo Samaj was continued by other organizations which were subsequently formed in the country. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj carried on the propaganda of the

repudiation of caste practically on the same lines as the Brahmo Samaj Both the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj, under the out and out democratic cultural influences of the west, denounced the caste as an institution itself In contrast to this attitude, the Arya Samaj started by Swami Dayanand preached not the repudiation of the caste system but the revival of the Hindu society of the Vedic period based only on four castes. The Arya Samaj, while crusading against the minute dissection of the Hindu society into countless sub-castes, aimed at reconstructing it on the original fourfold division Further, it stood for extending the right to study scriptures even to the lowest caste, the Shudras

Thus while both the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were iconoclastic movements with regard to caste, the Arya Samaj stood for reforming caste by eliminating all sub-castes

In addition to the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, and the Arya Samaj, there were other movements which also carried on a campaign against caste Telang, Ranade, Phoolay who founded the Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1873, Malabari, Poet Narmad, and others were strenuous crusaders against the caste system In the south, the Self Respect Movement, attacking the humiliating disabilities from which the non-Brahmin communities suffered, was organized

One of the arguments advanced by the Left leaders of the Indian national movement was that since the reactionary social institutions rested on the low economic evolution of the Indian society and since the low economic evolution was due to the absence of political power in the hands of the Indian people, national freedom was the prime condition for the social reconstruction of the Indian society The destruction of caste was thus bound up with the problem of national independence 'The social and cultural backwardness is the expression and consequence of the low economic level and political subjection, and not *vice versa* . . The root problem is economical-political '[15]

Convinced that a radical reforming of the Indian society was possible only if the Indian people got self-government, they struggled with greater energy and spirit for Swaraj

Though Indian nationalism reached the conclusion that political power was a vital premise for a fundamental recons-

truction of the Indian society on a democratic basis, it did not relax its campaign against social evils However, social reform was given auxiliary place in the scheme of its work.

Movements Perpetuating Caste System

The British government was almost universally criticized for not taking active steps to weaken caste Some British historians, journalists, and professors, sometimes even recommended the keeping alive of caste division as a lever to safeguard the British domination. 'It may be doubted if the existence of caste is on the whole unfavourable to the permanence of our rule. It may even be considered favourable to it, provided we act with prudence and forbearance Its spirit is opposed to national union' remarked James Kerr[16]

There were other minor causes also which kept alive the consciousness of caste Mr Middleton, one of the two Superintendents of Census Operations of 1921, made significant remarks about the effects of the British administration on caste in the Punjab He observed·

'I had intended pointing out that there is a very wide revolt against the classification of occupational castes, that these castes have been largely manufactured and always entirely preserved as separate castes by the British government Our land records and official documents have added iron bonds to the old rigidity of caste. ' 'We pigeon-holed every one by caste and if we could not find a true caste for them, labelled them with the name of an hereditary occupation We deplore the caste system and its effects on social and economic problems, but we are largely responsible for the system we deplore Left to themselves such castes as Sonar and Lohai would rapidly disappear Government's passion for labels and pigeon-holes has led to a crystallization of the caste system'[17]

The growth and intensification of the national movement and the class struggle between the employers and the workers as well as the zemindars and the tenants drove a section of the wealthy classes to support the caste system as the weapon to sabotage the growing national unity of the people and the class unity of the workers and the peasants belonging to the different castes or communities. As the workers and the peasants or the tenants, no matter what castes they individually belonged to, came to recognize their common economic and

political interests, they felt increasingly more as members of a class rather than of a caste, united in their class organizations such as trade unions, kisan sabhas, tenants' organizations, land labourers' unions, and formed even their class parties such as the socialist and the communist parties They organized joint struggles to secure from employers or zemindars better working and living conditions. Naturally this was not relished by the latter The most reactionary among them even used the reactionary institution of caste to disrupt the growing unity of the masses.

'The classification of the Hindu population by castes at each successive census is objected on the ground that it perpetuates distinctions which should be obliterated On the other hand, the caste system has its apologists, who stress its merits as the cement of society, which holds Hinduism together and enables it to withstand attacks from without It is, remarked the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, "the best and surest safeguard against the spirit of unrest, against the growing bitterness between the classes and the masses, between capital and labour, which is constantly menacing civilization".'[18]

Caste charity and mutual aid organizations on a caste basis were also factors in retarding the process of the dissolution of the caste Animated by the emotion of caste solidarity and perturbed at the centrifugal tendencies developing within the caste, the conscious members of a caste organized societies to help its members in a variety of ways Poor members of the caste were given financial help. Buildings were constructed to be rented only to the members of the caste and at cheap rents. Scholarships were awarded for carrying on studies only to the boys and the girls belonging to that caste. Co-operatives were started for the exclusive benefit of the members of the caste.

This strengthened caste consciousness and caste allegiance and played an anti-national and anti-progressive role. Formerly, a caste group was an integral part of the town guild or the village community In the absence of appreciable economic exchange or transport facilities, it had very little contact with other groups of the same caste inhabiting other villages and towns Henceforth due to the travelling facilities provided by railways and buses, a caste organized itself on a national scale It held caste conferences, maintained caste executives to supervise over its members scattered throughout

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the country It published magazines and newspapers carrying on propaganda of caste solidarity. All this only contributed and strengthened caste consciousness, consolidated the caste on a national scale and conserved it.

With the growing weakening of the economic basis of caste, common economic interests of its members tended to decline. The caste, composed of the members following identical vocations and with common material interests and outlook, became increasingly a fiction. It became only an impediment to the people being marshalled into real divisions of the new society

Dual Aspects of Lower Castes' Movements

The movements of the lower castes of the Hindu society suffering from social, religious, and legal disabilities, as a result of the undemocratic caste system, had two aspects, one a progressive and the other reactionary and anti-national When a lower caste organized even on a caste basis and fought for democratic freedoms, its struggle helped the general struggle for the unity of the Indian people on a democratic basis. Communalism throve on privilege on one side and disabilities on the other When democratic liberties were won and all social and legal inequalities based on the hierarchic structure of society were abolished, communalism itself would vanish There would survive no distinctions between the members of one community and those of the other. It would be the democratic merging of all individuals, only to be subsequently classified into social groupings based on their real role in the existing socio-economic structure and therefore historically valid. Communalism would end only when the democratic freedoms were extended to the unprivileged social groups.

But when a lower caste organize itself for securing a specific weight in the constitution of the country, when it demanded separate electorates, it acted in a reactionary and anti-national manner Separate electorates would only perpetuate communalism. It would make permanent the communal division of society Lower castes would be right in demanding the removal of special obstacles put in their way for the manifestation and development of their talent as a result of hierarchic structures of society. This would be a progressive de-

mocratic demand and would help to increase the creative vitality of a people But if a caste asked for special rights, it acted in an undemocratic and anti-national way The members of a submerged caste and only common negative interests inasmuch as they were interested in the removal of disabilities imposed on all of them But when, due to the establishment of a new economic system, the vocational basis of every caste was disorganized, when every caste was composed of individuals pursuing different vocations and having even conflicting material interests, there could be no common positive interests of all its members

Similarly, a non-Brahmin bloc of castes had no common positive interests. These castes were composed of artisans, land labourers, landlords, factory workers, tenants, and others. The interests of these groups were widely divergent. Within the same caste of this bloc, too, often there were groups pursuing different occupations. The non-Brahmin movement was valid and progressive only so far as it struggled to remove legal and social disabilities. Special representation aiming at serving common positive interests had no meaning, since there were no common positive interests of the different castes comprising the non-Brahmin bloc, nay, even of all individuals composing one of its castes. In fact, the positive interests, economic and political, of non-Brahmin millowners would be served by joining the millowners' association, an aggregate of millowners belonging to all castes and communities Similarly, the interests of non-Brahmin workers would be served of workers who belonged to all castes and communities.

Special representation only perpetuated communal divisions just as the democratic movement of the non-Brahmins for social, legal, and religious equality paved the way for the dissolution of communal divisions 'Reserved representation is thus not necessary Nay, it is harmful in so far as it tends to perpetuate the distinction based on birth. In countries where the nation-community is strongly built up on the basis of the feeling of unity, no such principle is recognized for the representations of the different interests, even when they can be parcelled out into groups with conflicting interests. To harp on the caste differences and to allow special representations is to set at naught the fundamental condition for the rise of community feeling.'[19]

The role of the nationalist movement in weakening the caste bond should not be underestimated It is true that the basic pillar of caste, viz. endogamy practically remained intact, but increased collaboration of members of different castes in economic, political, and secular-cultural movements, steadily grew. The national movement which already secured a mass basis affected the narrow caste bonds Again, the national movement was essentially democratic in principle and based its programmes on equal rights of individuals and groups As such, it was objectively and indirectly in irreconcilable conflict with the hierarchically graded caste, conserving inequalities based on birth. The national movement unified the people while caste kept them divided The national movement proclaimed the principles of individual freedom and self-determination as much as national freedom and national self-determination So, the growth of the national movement weakened caste

'The advancing forces of the Indian people are leading the fight against caste, against illiteracy, against the degradation of the untouchables, against all that holds the people backward. While learned lectures are being delivered on the antique Hindu civilization and its unchanging characteristics, the Indian national movement, enjoying the unquestioned support of the overwhelming majority of the people, has inscribed on its banner a complete democratic programme of universal equal citizenship, without distinction of caste, creed or sex, abolition of all special privileges or titles, universal adult suffrage and universal free compulsory education, state neutrality in relation to religion, and freedom of speech, press, conscience, assembly and organisation, far in advance of the semi-democracy of Britain '[20]

Both Indian and world events of great magnitude had an effect on the mind of the Indian people They served as a powerful ferment creating urges among the Indian people to break through old institutions and customs. This process gathered momentum since the war of 1914-18

'Eighteen years after the Armistice we feel that India can never again return to her old stable equilibrium unaffected by world forces. . The conservatism of the British Raj favoured time-honoured abuses. The innovating spirit of democracy, acting through parties competing for votes, and strong arms to back voting power, is apt to make short work of ancient privileges supported by neither reason, strength, nor courage The champions of caste privilege are already in retreat, and the

retreat looks like becoming a rout If untouchability is doomed, can caste distinction survive? . . No doubt the strength of Hinduism is neither in the legislatures nor in the temples, but in the home Yet it is just in the home that the modernizing spirit is at work through the education of women The Hindu joint family, the chief bulwark of caste, is being undermined by the education of women, and the facilities for travel and contact with the outer world'[21]

Future Trend

To sum up The combined action of the various objective and subjective factors, mentioned before, considerably affected the caste system. The occupational basis of caste was seriously disorganized New parallel political, economic, and cultural organizations sprang up which were the mustering centres of members belonging to different castes but having identical interests. These organizations and new forms of consciousness which were growing, slowly diminished the importance of caste organizations and weakened caste-consciousness itself.

Caste privileges practically vanished in the legal sphere In the social sphere, they survived because of custom and force of inertia among the people Caste rules regarding eating with others were frequently abrogated and in cities were considerably relaxed in practice

Endogamy, the formidable pillar which sustained the caste structure, however, remained almost unshaken Inter-caste marriages were still exceptions

The tendency, however, had been towards the progressive dissolution of caste With the further economic development, spread of education, and growth of national and class movements for political freedom and progress, the process of the dissolution of caste was bound to be accelerated even at a geometrical rate In society as in Nature, advance or decline does not occur at a uniform rate. Accumulating anti-caste consciousness of the people was sure to burst into large-scale practical anti-caste actions even in the matter of marriage. With the disappearance of endogamy, its last formidable pillar, the edifice of caste would collapse

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CHAPTER XV

CRUSADE AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability, Inhuman Institution of Hindu Society

THE SOCIAL organization of the Hindus inherited from the pre-British period had many oppressive and undemocratic features The segregation of a section of the Hindus as untouchables, who were precluded from such elementary rights as the right of entry to public temples or of the use of public wells and tanks, and the physical touch of whom contaminated a member of the higher castes, constituted a most inhuman form of social oppression.

The untouchables were the outcastes of the Hindu society. Though belonging to the Hindu society, they were its proscribed part.

Historically, untouchability was the social fruit of the Aryan conquest of India In the process of social interaction, a portion of the indigenous conquered population was incorporated into the Aryan fold. The most backward and despised section of this incorporated population, it appears, constituted the hereditary caste of untouchables

For centuries, untouchability persisted in the Hindu society. Even extensive and profound humanitarian and religious reform movements such as started by Buddha, Ramanuja, Ramanand, Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Tukaram and others, hardly affected the inhuman and age-long institution of untouchability. Hallowed with tradition and sanctified by religion, it continued to exist in all its barbarous vigour for centuries

History has known hierarchically graded societies of various types in different epochs and among different peoples All these societies were based on social privileges and inequalities.

However, no hierarchically graded society can compare with the Hindu society in its extreme gradation of ranks and inequalities of rights Hardly any society condemned its section to physical segregation as the Hindu society did in the case of its untouchables [1] The mere physical touch of an untouchable was a sin, an abomination

In the Hindu society, the hereditary untouchables were assigned such low functions as those of scavengers, of removers of dead cattle, and others [2] They were, socially and legally, debarred from any other profession The Hindu state enacted draconic laws to punish those untouchables who rebelled against their intolerable conditions They had no right to study or enter a temple. They had to reside in a separate area in the village or town and had no freedom to use public wells and tanks which the caste Hindus used [3] An untouchable was punished for a crime, by the law of the Hindu state or the village tribunal composed of the caste Hindus, more drastically than a caste Hindu who committed the same crime

This social oppression of the untouchables had religious sanction. As such, it was more firmly entrenched

Thus, under no institution was man so deeply humiliated and crushed as under that of untouchability The outraging of human personality and human dignity reached its high watermark under it

It was but natural that the elimination of such an atrocious social phenomenon as untouchability became one of the main planks of the platform of all social reform movements in India

Though different motives and considerations prompted various groups of social reformers in their campaign against untouchability, all recognized it as an institution to be destroyed It is true that a good proportion of the Hindu community, its numerically strong orthodox section, tenaciously opposed the abolition of untouchability and general disabilities from which these depressed masses of the Hindu society suffered However, the tendency was towards its increasing elimination

Depressed Classes, Their Strength

The census report of 1931 estimated the number of the depressed classes at 50,192,000 in the whole of India. In the U P , they constituted 23 per cent of the total population.[4]

Thus, these socially submerged classes formed about one-fifth of the whole Hindu population. The problem of their emancipation, therefore, assumed vital importance in any scheme of national freedom and social reconstruction of India

Among the depressed classes themselves, there were social gradations. There were socially superior and socially inferior groups among these victims of social injustice themselves. This made the problem further complicated and difficult

Again, the extent of untouchability and other disabilities varied from place to place

In spite of this, the depressed classes were demarcated from the upper caste Hindus by certain fundamental social oppressions and disabilities common to them[5]

The removal of untouchability and all disabilities from which the depressed classes suffered, formed an important item in the programmes of all socio-reform and religio-reform movements that sprang up in India during the British rule

Movements to Ameliorate Their Conditions

Indignation at such an inhuman and unjust institution was a part of the general democratic indignation which developed among the conscious and educated section of the Indian people.

The Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Social Reform Conference, even political organizations like the Indian National Congress led by Gandhi, and the All-India Harijan Sangh, a non-political body founded by Gandhi, strove by propaganda, education, and practical measures, to restore equal social, religious, and cultural rights to the untouchables

There was a stirring among the depressed classes themselves. The spread of education among them brought forth a group of intellectuals such as Dr. Ambedkar, who became the spokesman of their sufferings and disabilities and passionate fighter for their elementary human rights. The All-India Depressed Classes Association and the All-India Depressed Classes Federation were the principal organizations of these classes. The latter was founded and led by Dr. Ambedkar In addition, there were numerous local and sectional organizations of the various castes comprising the depressed classes

By various and different methods and to a varying extent, all these organizations were striving for the removal of the

disabilities of the depressed classes The most spectacular among these disabilities were non-admission to temples and public schools, the ban on the use of public wells, and residential segregation. Dr. Ambedkar, in addition, tried to transform the depressed classes into a political army and pressed their political claims which were conceded in the Constitution of 1935 in the form of special representation of these classes. Though the demand of the depressed classes for special representation was anti-national and disruptive of national unity, still it mirrored the political awakening among these classes

The Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, and other religious reform movements of the Hindus had for their aim a consolidation of the Hindu society on a reconstructed, rational basis Their leaders strove in the direction of the democratization of the Hindu social system They stood against gross social injustices from which the depressed Hindus were suffering and generally preached their abolition in the very name of the Hindu Shastras by reinterpreting them.

The non-religious social reform movements condemned untouchability and other social injustices in the name of individual liberty and equality of human rights without trying to secure any favourable verdict of the Vedas on their side.

Liberals and left politicians in the Indian nationalist movement like Gokhale, Gandhi, and others, argued also that since their demand for self-government or independence from the British rule was a democratic demand, the Indians should also practise democracy in the social sphere and reconstruct social relations between individuals, castes, and communities on the basis of democratic principles, the principles of equal liberty and rights of man

Further, national freedom was a function of national unity and united national strength National unity and strength demaded equal rights and equal freedom of self-development. The abolition of untouchability, the removal of disabilities of the millions of depressed classes, would have contributed to the development both of national unity and vitality.

Even those Hindus who, like Savarkar, stood for the Hindu Raj, advocated the elevation of the status of the depressed classes This was due to the fact that they felt alarmed at the numerical loss which the Hindu community had been experiencing due to the steady conversion of the untouchables

to Islam and Christianity which guaranteed them more social equality

Thus a movement to elevate the depressed classes, to improve their miserable economic conditions, to spread education among them, to extend to them the freedom to use public wells, schools, and roads, and enter public temples, also to secure for them special political representation, steadily grew in the country and gathered momentum. The Mahad Satyagraha for the right of water led by Dr Ambedkar was one of the outstanding struggles of the untouchables to win equal social rights.

It was a slow process however. The depressed classes formed the most poverty-stricken strata of the Indian society Literacy among them was also on a very low level

Gandhi, the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh founded by him in 1932 and other bodies, were doing extensive work of social reform and educational character for the depressed classes. The Sangh started numerous schools for the Harijans including residential vocational schools. In addition, scavengers' unions, cooperative credit societies, and housing societies, were formed [6]

The Congress governments, which functioned for a few years in various provinces, from the year 1937, did useful work for the elevation of the depressed classes The Congress government of Bombay passed the Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Act permiting the trustees, if they wished, to admit the Harijans to the temples, even if the current custom or the instrument of trust debarred them. Free education for the Harijans, from the primary class of the University degree, was introduced in their provinces by the C.P. and Bihar Congress governments In other Congress-governed provinces, similar facilities were arranged

A number of Satyagraha movements of the Harijans also took place wherein they disobeyed the ban on their temple entry, and strove to enter the temples. Those movements, reinforced by growing popular sympathy for their democratic demands, secured for the untouchables the right to temple entry in a number of places

The rulers of states like Travancore, Indore, Aundh, and Devas, themselves took the initiative in opening all state temples by proclamation

"Neutrality" Policy of Britain, Its Criticism

The Indian nationalists stated that the British government did not energetically and enthusiastically work for the restoration of the rights of the depressed classes and that it did not exercise its power to strike at the undemocratic denial of elementary human rights to the untouchables Even Dr Ambedkar, who was not irreconcilably hostile to the British government, while addressing the untouchables, remarked:

> 'Before the British, you were in a loathsome condition due to your Untouchability What has the British Government done to remove your Untouchability? Before the British, you could not draw water from the village wells Has the British Government secured you the right to the wells? Before the British, you could not enter the temple Can you enter there now? Before the British you were denied entry into the Police Force Does the British Government admit you to the Force?'[7]

Dr. Ambedkar considered that unless the Indian people secured political power and that power did not concentrate in the hands of the socially suppressed section of the Indian society, it was not possible to completely wipe out all social, legal and cultural disabilities, from which that section suffered He said·

> 'Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove these unless you get political power into your hands
>
> We must have a government in which men in power will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people, in other words, it is only the Swaraj Government that will make it possible'[8]

This was a strong stricture on the 'neutrality' policy of the British government in India in social and religious matters which ojectively tended to perpetuate reactionary and oppressive social customs and institutions It was true that Hindu orthodoxy resented and resisted all progressive social measures but, the leaders of Indian nationalism and depressed classes argued that the British government ought not to have evaded its state duty to stamp out social inequalities and injustices It was true that the British government had intervened in social matters and introduced reforms like the abolition of

suttee, equality before law of all citizens, touchables or untouchables alike, and others. Still, the rate at which the reforms were accomplished was too slow and exhibited too much concern of the government about the feelings of the reactionary social forces.

Progressive Englishmen like H. N Brailsford also levelled a similar criticism at the British government regarding its attitude to the old reactionary and effete social institutions and practices persisting in India. In his *Subject India*, Brailsford remarked

'None the less, our official policy was then, as now, to interfere, as little as possible with Indian institutions it tolerated social customs injurious to health, notably child marriage, and accepted even untouchability as an immutable fact in an environment it dared not alter Our courts, as time went on, took to administering Hindu law with an almost antiquarian fidelity The result of this attitude was unquestionably to stereotype the past in a land that never has discarded it with ease '[9]

The democratic awakening of the depressed classes, their increasing consciousness of their basic human rights, was a part of the general national democratic awakening which had taken place among the Indian people during the British rule During that period, a new economic and political system was established all over India. This system was based on the principle that all individuals of society were equal units having equal individual liberty and treatment before law. It dealt a heavy blow to the ideas of heredity and status on which the pre-capitalist medieval Indian society was based An individual had equal right and freedom to follow what vocation he liked. He was treated on the whole on par with other fellow-citizens before law This had kindled among the socially submerged classes the urge to break through all shackles imposed on their freedom for centuries. The humanitarian activity of the members of the upper castes reinforcing the rebellious struggles of the submerged sections, constituted the socio-reform movement in India

Impact of New Economic Forces

There were a number of objective factors which often imperceptibly led to the diminishing of the gulf of social in-

equalities and distinctions The introduction of railways and buses increasingly brought both touchables and untouchables physically together Modern industries established in India impartially recruited their labour supply in the labour market both from touchables and untouchables, who further worked at the machines in physical proximity to one another In labour strikes, both touchable and untouchable workers fought together and slowly and steadily developed a new class consciousness which increasingly began to supplant caste consciousness In cities, the restaurants proved powerful solvents of the caste prejudices How little did the proprietors of those restaurants know that they were engaged in the practical campaign of liquidating caste inequalities and caste distinctions!

Impact of Modern Education

With the spread of education among the depressed classes, more and more members from them took to vocations which were formerly the monopoly of the upper castes Common material interests were forged among the followers of the same vocations and, in course of time, when the first prejudices were overcome, they came together and co-operated, irrespective of whether they belonged to the superior or depressed classes, to advance their common interests

With the introduction of modern education, the Indians came in contact with the libertarian and democratic ideologies of the west. This produced a recoil among the best individuals of the higher castes from the social injustices and gross caste inequalities obtaining in the Hindu society It also produced a rebellious attitude among the educated members of the depressed classes who organized these classes for smashing the chains of social oppression imposed on them

The lack of education among the untouchables was one of the factors which restricted them to low occupations This bred immense economic and cultural poverty among them In proportion they received more and more education, liberal and technical, not only did their economic conditions improve but also different sections following different occupations began to merge, on class basis, with groups of other castes following similar occupations Thus new bonds based not on caste but common occupation and class began to be forged This slowly

began to dissolve the mass of the untouchables into social groups such as factory workers, teachers, clerks, merchants, mechanics, or manufacturers New economic bonds between the touchables and the untouchables following the same economic activity started weakening the prejudice of untouchability The tendency was visible in the industrial centres, where, due to the common occupation and united struggle against employers to press common material interests such as wage increase, trade union rights and others, solidarity slowly started growing between touchable and untouchable workers Slowly but steadily, the new class feeling began to supplant the old caste prejudices.

Also when an untouchable was educated and improved his economic position, the attitude of the higher castes towards him also began to be modified.

Untouchability had basically economic foundations. With the occupational homogeneity of the untouchables dissolved and with their material and cultural position elevated, they would dissolve into different groups resting on the modern economic structure. This would undermine untouchability seriously

Impact of Nationalist Movement

There was another factor which operated in favour of the anti-untouchability movement It was the expanding nationalist movement which aimed at integrating all Indians irrespective of caste or community to achieve political freedom The success of the Swaraj struggle demanded the democratic alliance of all castes and communities in India whose vital interests lay in the political independence of the country Such a union was primarily forged in joint struggles of these groups for the accomplishment of political freedom Thus the nationalist movement contributed, though slowly, towards the dissolution of old distinctions. On the other hand, the social reform movement aiming at eliminating social injustices such as untouchability, in its turn, contributed towards the building of the national unity of the Indian people on a democratic basis.

The social reformers were thus moved both by humanitarian and national considerations when they crusaded against

purely social evils.

The untouchables were the most poverty-stricken section of the Indian people. They were mostly land labourers, semi-serfs, or engaged in the worst occupations They suffered from twofold evils, economic and social, which were interconnected Their low social position accentuated their economic exploitation and their miserable economic conditions tended to stabilize their low social status

Prerequisites of Abolishing Untouchability

The problem of the abolition of untouchability was, therefore, bound up with that of a basic socio-economic reconstruction of the Indian society, with that of the creation of a prosperous national economy, the change in the existing economic and social relations which would elevate the material conditions of the people including the untouchables, the expansion of education, and the enactment of positive legislation which would, regardless of the opposition of orthodox opinion, sweep away all disabilities that were imposed on them Purely, the socio-reform movement had a limited productivity only It generally could not go to the economic roots of the social evil As such, it usually yielded partial and unstable results

The anti-untouchability movement, which came into existence and which subsequently gathered momentum, was the expression of the growth of larger national and human consciousness among the Indian people. It was an essential part of the national and democratic movement of the Indian people

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CHAPTER XVI

MOVEMENT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Woman, her low position in pre-British India

THE GENERAL national and democratic awakening that took place in India as a consequence of the emergence of the new economic environment, the establishment of the new political system, and the spread of modern western education and ideologies among the people, found expression in the movement for the liberation of the Indian women from the medieval forms of social subordination and suppression from which they suffered for countless centuries

In the pre-British Indian society, except perhaps in the early periods of the Vedic times, woman was assigned a position subordinate to man Law and religion did not recognize the equality and equal rights of man and woman. Society permitted man to have rights and freedoms from which woman was excluded. Different standards were adopted to judge the individual and social conduct of man and woman.

As in all medieval and ancient societies barring the prehistoric tribal society, woman in India was held in subjection to man before the British conquest inaugurated a new economic and legal system in India and brought her in contact with the modern democratic influences of the occidental countries.

It is true that in the past, religio-reform movements like Buddhism tried even partially to elevate the status of the Indian women but it was only during the British period that big movements were organized to destroy the social and legal injustices from which they suffered for centuries

It is true that Indian history recorded instances of outstanding women like Gargi, Chandbibi, Nurjahan, Razya Begum, the Queen of Jhansi, Mirabai and Ahalyabai, who

accomplished great feats in the spheres of literature, art, philosophy, administration, and even warfare But these women sprang from the governing privileged strata of society and were, therefore, free from conditions of social subjection in which the Indian women, in the mass, lived and who had, therefore, neither freedom nor opportunity for the development of self-expression.

New Economic Forces, their Impact on her Status

The British conquest of India transformed the social setting in India. It released objective and subjective forces which kindled democratic urges among the people.

The social reform movement, which arose out of the new conditions of social existence, set itself the task of removing the social and legal injustices and inequalities from which the Indian women suffered.

The subjection of the Indian women in the pre-British period was rooted in the social and economic structure of the society of the period Birth determined the status of an individual in that society The disabilities of a woman arose from the fact that she was born a woman This inferior status of woman in society was further made sacrosanct by religious ordinances

The capitalist economy which the British conquest inaugurated in India and the legal and political regime established in the country, were based on the principles of the recognition of individual equality and contractual freedom of the individual It did not admit, on principle, all inequalities based on birth, sex distinction, caste, or community

It is true that the struggle had to be organized to get this principle realized progressively in different spheres of life The hesitation of the British government as well as the reactionary resistance of the orthodox sections of society, had to be combated before legislation was enacted such as would increasingly make woman man's equal in matters of civic rights

Movements to elevate their Status

Though they were the enlightened individuals of the male section who launched initial efforts to abolish laws and cus-

Struggles for Right to Education

In pre-British India, barring a few exceptions, the mass of women were not given education. The medieval conception assigned to women only domestic duties There were village and town schools for boys but women were not provided with education

The destruction of the old society and the emergence of the new, after the British conquest of India, was paralleled by the growth of a new outlook among the Indian people Authoritarian conceptions were increasingly replaced by libertarian conceptions All individuals should have equal rights and freedoms irrespective of sex, caste, race, or creed. The hundred and fifty years of the British rule were years of effort on the part of the progressive section of the Indian people to realize that democratic principle in politics, religion, education, and the social sphere It was in the name of this principle that Swaraj was demanded, abolition of caste distinctions and inequalities was advocated, monopoly rights of hereditary priesthood in the sphere of religion were attacked, as also equal rights of men and women in economic, political, social, and educational fields, were proclaimed

The movement for the progressive realization of the democratic principle of equal rights of men in all spheres of social existence were an attack not only on the foreign rule but also on much of the undemocratic legacy of pre-British India. It was an attack upon the subordination of the individual to caste laws and taboos, the exclusion of women from rights enjoyed by men, and others

Equal right of women to education and culture was recognized almost universally Education spread, rapidly and more and more, among women The conservative recoil from edu-
cation of girls began to disappear. 'There was a time wh
the education of girls had not only no supporters, but ... ons
... ad fo their
enemies in India Female education has by now
all the stages—total apathy, ridicule, criticism ... socialist India
It may now be safely stated that anywhere ... the manifestation
for the education of girls as much as of bo ... democratic urges for
a cardinal need, the *sine qua non* of natio ... em

The pioneering work of women's educa
such religio-reform bodies as the Brahmo

Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Danish, American, German, and British Missionary Societies and also by the small but progressive Parsi community The Indian Women's University started by Professor Karve in 1916 was one of the outstanding institutions imparting education to women.

Among the Muslims, the spread of education among women was slow though Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan and other leaders advocated it as far back as the end of the last century The tendency, however, was towards a steady increase

The steady growth of women's education was reflected in the fact that the number of girls attending schools rose from 1,230,000 in 1917 to 2,890,000 in 1937

Widespread poverty of the majority of the Indian population was one of the fundamental obstacles to the rapid growth of women's education Due to their poverty, the labouring strata of the Indian people, the workers and primarily the peasants, were unable to take advantage of the educational facilities where they existed. Education did not percolate to those layers because of their inability to pay for it The Indian nationalists attributed the poverty of the Indian masses to the political handicap of the foreign rule on India's economic development such as would assure proper economic standards for the Indian masses The problem of the universal spread of education among the Indian people was bound up with that of their political freedom and resultant economic advance

Women's participation in Politics

One of the most amazing events of contemporary Indian history was the rapid entry of the Indian women into politics, especially after 1919 In pre-British India, barring a few women of the royal and aristocratic families such as Sultana resi̇za Begum, Chandbibi, Nurjahan, Ahalyabai Holkar, the bated beforbe mass did not participate in politics. Things ingly make wothe British period They not only enthusias-
e limited suffrage granted to them but even
*Movements to ele*s movements of the type started by the
igress 'At the very moment when Con-
Though they wer Gandhi were calling on them for a national
section who launuzed that the prophet and the paramount

power had each placed a valuable weapon within their reach With one hand they grasped passive resistance and with the other the vote '[5]

This was unique in the entire history of India, the spectacle of hundreds of women taking part in political mass movement, picketing of liquor shops, marching in demonstrations, courting jails, facing lathi charges and bullets

At one stroke, the Indian women broke through their age-long restrictions From docile domestic servants to their husbands and other male folk, they rose to the level of citizens, voting political programmes and participating in big political movements Some of them like Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, and Vijayalaxmi Pandit, even became leaders of international repute

A number of Indian women worked as Ministers, Under-Secretaries, and Deputy Speakers of Provincial Legislatures, when Congress governments were formed in 1936 The Indian women also became members of local boards and municipalities.

A great awakening thus took place among the Indian women It is true that, due to immense poverty, the opportunity of education and participating in civic life were restricted to women belonging to the upper and middle layers of society. Nevertheless, it was a new and astounding development not known to the old pre-British India

Their Participation in Class Struggles

Even the women of the lower strata, in spite of the handicap of illiteracy and poverty, were steadily growing conscious of their rights Thousands of women of the working class and peasantry took part in strike struggles, street demonstrations, and conferences They were also developing political consciousness, became members of national political organizations as also of trade unions and Kisan Sabhas which had for their objective not only a free India but even a free socialist India.

This awakening of the Indian women was the manifestation of the growth of national sentiment and democratic urges for national and individual liberty among them

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CHAPTER XVII

RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AMONG HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

Religious Reform Movement, Expression of National Awakening

THE NATIONAL democratic awakening of the Indian people found expression also in the religious sphere The contradiction between the old religious outlook, practices, and organization, on the one hand, and the new social and economic reality on the other, gave rise to various religio-reform movements in the country. These movements represented attempts to revise the old religion in the spirit of the new principles of nationalism and democracy which were the conditions for the development of the new society.

The spirit of nationalism was needed to unite the people into a joint effort to solve problems which had become national due to the political and economic unification of the Indian people, for the first time in their history, under the British rule To advance the economic and cultural evolution of the Indian society, now become a single whole, as also to combat restrictions which the British rule put on this evolution, constituted the principal task set to itself by the rising Indian nationalism It is true that the early pioneers of Indian nationalism, the early social and religious reformers, had hopes of getting these restrictions removed under the guidance of British Democracy Still, they did recognize that the British rule, in spite of its early progressive character, handicapped the Indian national development

Democracy was another principle which the reformers, the early pioneer nationalists like Ram Mohan Roy, Debendra Nath Tagore, Keshubchandra Sen, Telang, Ranade, Fulley,

and the founders of the Arya Samaj, in varying degrees extended to the sphere of religion Modern society established in India by the British conquest was a capitalist society resting on the principles of individual liberty, freedom of competition, contract, and freedom of the individual to own and manipulate property at will. Individualism was its key-note in contrast to the pre-capitalist society which was authoritarian in character, maintained social distinctions based on birth and sex, and subordinated the individual to caste and the joint family system The new society demanded, as the very condition of its development, the abolition of privileges based on birth or sex

The early religious reformers strove to extend the principle of individual liberty to the sphere of religion

In fact, these religio-reform movements, the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and others, were in different degrees endeavours to recast the old religion into a new form suited to meet the needs of the new society It is true that some of their leaders (especially of the Arya Samaj) had the misconception that they were reviving the old pristine social structure of the Vedic Aryans, that they were returning to the Golden Age In reality they were engaged, in varying degrees, in adapting the Hindu religion to the social, political, economic, and cultural needs of the contemporary Indian nation. History records instances where the consolidators of new societies were imagining that they were returning to the past and reviving the best social forms existing in the old periods In fact, the early religio-reform movements in India were attempting to build a religious outlook which would build up national unity of all communities, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsis, and the rest, for solving such common national tasks as the economic development of India on modern lines, the removal of restrictions put on the people's free evolution, the establishment of equality between man and woman, the abolition of caste, the abolition of the Brahmin as the monopolist of classical culture and sole intermediary between God and the individual Nevertheless, like the leaders of the European Protestant and other movements comprising the Religious Reformation, the Indian religious reformers were not rehabilitating any past period of society but only consolidating the rising new society

Liberalism is the philosophy of rising capitalism[1] Its two main principles are nationalism and democracy. The religio-reform movements were attempts to extend the principles of liberalism to religion.

"Appeal to Past", Its Real Significance

There is a profound psycho-philosophical reason behind the illusion which misled some of these reformers (the Arya Samaj) into thinking that they were returning to the pristine past while in reality they were forging a new society unknown to all past history.

This illusion is the product of the contradiction between the old 'conscious formulations' or thinking and the new conditions of social being

'Man himself is composed like society, of current active being and inherited conscious formulations . Thus he feels, right in the heart of him, this tension between being and thinking, between new being and old thought . The incomplete future is dragging at him but because instinctive components of the psyche are the oldest, he often feels this to be the past dragging at him That is why we come upon the paradox that the hero appeals to the past, and urges man to bring it into being again, in doing so produces the future The return to the classics dominated the bourgeois Renaissance Rome influenced Napoleon and the Revolution The return to the natural uncorrupted man was the ideal of eighteenth-century revolutionists. Yet it is the new whose tension men feel in their minds and hearts at such times

' . . He may think it is the past he is born to save or re-establish on earth and only when it is done is it seen that the future has come into being The reformer "returning" to primitive Christianity brings bourgeois Protestantism into being . '[2]

Similarly, Gandhi imagined that he was engaged in an effort to reproduce Ram Raj of the Golden Age of the Hindus while, in reality, he was attempting to evolve a modern democratic capitalist national state existence for India

The urge to orient towards the past was further accentuated due to the status of the Indian people as a subject nation Along with a healthy desire for national freedom from

the foreign rule, chauvinist dreams of a 'spiritual conquest' of the world through a resurrected Hinduism were sometimes conceived (e g Vivekanand, the outstanding leader of the Ramakrishna Mission Movement). The claims of the special 'spiritual genius' of India were proclaimed

The early religio-reform movements were, however, progressive movements. They were the expression of the first national awakening of the Indian people

Such religio-reform movements aiming at the remodelling of the old religion to suit the new social needs have usually sprung up in the history of every people during the transition from medievalism to modern capitalism

Medievalism Vs Liberalism

Medievalism stood for the rule of the aristocracy. Liberalism, the philosophy of capitalism, preached democracy and government by the people Medievalism including medieval religion stood for privilege based on birth Liberalism attacked all such privilege as unjust and proclaimed the principles of individual liberty, equal rights, and free competition Medievalism demanded faith from the people in the divine origin of kingship, in the sacrosanct character of the social structure, and in the God-ordained nature of whatever exists. Liberalism substituted critical reason for faith Every institution and principle must be subjected to the test of reason.

Medievalism propagated the theory of fall (from the halcyonic Golden to the present 'degenerate' Kali Yuga) Liberalism basing itself on the scientific history of mankind propounded passionately the doctrine of progress, from barbarism to slavery, from slavery to feudalism, and thence to modern capitalism. Medievalism, on the whole, instigated man to take a pessimistic view of life and concentrate his attention on the other world Liberalism intensified man's appetite to live up pointing out the unlimited scope to make pleasure-bringing material things in this world by means of modern machinery and science [3]

The old religion was based on the low level of economic and cultural development of the old society It had to be remodelled to meet the needs of the new society It had to be revised in the spirit of the principles of nationalism, demo-

cracy, an optimistic and positive attitude to life, and even rationalist philosophy

On the whole, national progress became the main objective of these reconstructed religions When religion itself was not repudiated or reformed, nationalism became identified with religion (e g. the religion of Nationalism as propounded by B C. Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, and others).

Sometimes old gods and goddesses were interpreted in a way suitable for rousing national sentiment and hopes among the people. 'This interpretation of the old images of gods and goddesses has imparted a new meaning to the current ceremonialism of the country, and multitudes, while worshipping either Jagat Dhatri or Kali or Durga, accost them with devotion . . with the inspiring cry of "Bande Mataram". All these are the popular objects of worship of the Indian Hindus. . And the transfiguration of these symbols is at once the cause and the evidence of the depth and strength of the present movement This wonderful transfiguration of the old gods and goddesses is carrying the message of new nationalism to the women and masses of the country '[4]

Thus the religio-revival movement, too, like the religio-reform movement, was inspired with a national ideal

Religio-reform Movement, Its All-embracing Scope

Another characteristic of the religio-reform movements was that their programme was not restricted to the task of merely reforming religion but extended to that of the reconstruction of social institutions and social relations This was due to the fact that in India religion and social structure were organically interwoven Caste hierarchy, sex inequality, untouchability, and social taboos, flourished because of the sanction of religion Social reform, consequently, constituted a part of th platform of all religio-reform movements While rationalizi g religion to a greater or less degree, these movements also aimed at rationalizing social institutions and relations to a greater or less degree. Nowhere in the world did religion dominate and determine the life of the individual as in India His economic activity, his social life, his marriage, birth, and death, his physical movements, all were strictly and minutely controlled by religion It was indispensable for the religio-reform

movements to have an all-embracing programme of religious, social, and even political reform. They fought the caste system and the ban on going to a foreign country as much as polytheism and idolatry They attacked caste privilege as much as the monopoly rights of the Brahmin in the sphere of religion. They attacked all this because they were obstacles to national progress which required, as its vital pre-condition, national unity based on the principles of equality and liberty of individuals and groups.

The motif of these movements was national advance The first national awakening of the Indian people took predominantly a religious form This awakening deepened and broadened in subsequent decades and found increasingly secular forms

Similar Developments in Europe

In Europe, too, a similar development occurred Before national movements aiming at establishing national state and society came into existence, incipient nationalism took religious forms such as Protestantism and Reformation

This is because medieval religion was not suited to the new society which was growing Medieval religion, in Europe (the Universal Roman Church), while uniting Christendom culturally, supported the feudal economic and state system which was an obstacle to the national economic unification of the people of a country on the basis of nationally extending exchange relations of the growing capitalist economy Further, the Roman Church, by supporting the feudal state, was preventing the establishment of the national state which was necessary for the free and rapid development of the new capitalist economy.

The national awakening of the European peoples therefore first found expression in religious struggles against the feudal religion In France, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Holbach, and others, led this initial revolt against the Roman Church, the spiritual support of the feudal economic and state system. This anti-religious revolt preceded the secular national political revolt against the feudal regime [5]

In India, the first national awakening expressed itself in the form of a series of religio-reform movements Some of

these movements aimed at revising the traditional religion in the spirit of the principles of Liberalism Others aimed at restoring it in the pure form in which it existed in ancient times.

'The multiform world of Hinduism was stirred and awakened to a spiritual revolution in the nineteenth century much as Europe had been in the sixteenth Like the Reformation, they reverted to the earliest traditions and attacked the degeneration and superstitution of later days '[6]

In India, the religio-reform movements launched a crusade against medieval religion which sanctified such institutions as caste which were a powerful obstacle to the national unity of the Indian people and to the development of the new economy in the country They attacked polytheism, the practice of meaningless soul-deadening religious rites, and religious dogmas which undermined the critical intellectual power of the people These religio-reform movements were national in content but religious in form It was in the later stages of our national existence, that nationalism found exclusively or predominantly secular forms.

A brief reference may be made to the principal among these religio-reform movements to illustrate how they embodied the rising upsurge of nationalism and adopted programmes which were, in varying degrees, attempts to apply Liberalism to religion.

Brahmo Samaj Movement

The Brahmo Samaj, established in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), who can be correctly described as the Father of Indian Nationalism, was the first movement of this kind The Raja was essentially a democrat and a humanist. In his religio-philosophical and social outlook, he was deeply influenced by the monotheism and anti-idolatry of Islam, Deism of Sufism, the ethical teachings of Christianity and the liberal and rationalist doctrines of the west 'He tried to interpret and assimilate into himself the highest elements of Islam, Christianity, and modern Rationalism or Humanism, and transformed them into a single creed which he found in the ancient Upanishadic philosophy of his own community '[7]

He attacked the polytheistic degeneration of ancient Hindu monotheism. He attacked the idol worship of the Hindus as degrading and expounded the conception of 'One God of all religions and humanity'

His attack on polytheism and idolatry was motivated by national and social-ethical considerations as much as by philosophical conviction. 'My constant reflections on the injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindu idolatry which more than any pagan-worship destroys the texture of society, together with compassion for my countrymen, have compelled me to use every possible effort to enable them to contemplate . . the unity and omnipresence of Nature's God'[8]

Raja Ram Mohan Roy stood for a rational approach to religion The individual should study the scriptures directly, without the priest as the intermediary, and assess the rational character of a religious doctrine He must subject religious principles to the test of his own ethical reason and reject those which contradict the test

Since the Hindu society was dominated and governed by religious conceptions of Hinduism, no religio-reform movement could avoid a socio-reform section in its programme. According to Raja Ram Mohan Roy and early religious reformers, religious renovation was the vital condition for revising the social structure from a decadent to a healthy basis. That is why the socio-reform programme became a part of the total programme of religio-reform movements

The Brahmo Samaj, under the leadership of the Raja, launched an offensive against the caste system branding it as undemocratic, inhuman, and anti-national It crusaded against suttee and child marriage. It stood for the freedom of the widow to remarry and equal rights of man and woman

The Brahmo Samaj valued the modern western culture and organized educational institutions in the country for its spread among the people Raja Ram Mohan Roy was an admirer of the liberal democratic culture of the west

The Raja considered the British rule in India as a good thing He admired it for inaugurating progressive measures of social reform such as the abolition of suttee and infanticide, for establishing modern educational institutions and a free press, and others This was natural since the British rule in India, during the first half of the nineteenth century, had,

historically speaking, a progressive aspect.

'In the earlier period of British rule, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the British rulers—in the midst of, and actually through all the misery and industrial devastation—were performing an actively progressive role, were in many spheres actively combating the conservative and feudal forces of Indian society This was the period of courageous reforms, of such measures as the abolition of suttee (carried out with the wholehearted co-operation of the progressive elements of Indian society), the abolition of slavery (a more formal measure in practice), the war on infanticide and thuggism, the introduction of western education and the freeing of the press Rigid in their outlook, unsympathetic to all that was backward in Indian traditions, convinced that the nineteenth century bourgeois and Christian conception was the norm for humanity, these early administrators nevertheless carried on a powerful work of innovation representing the spirit of the early ascendant bourgeoisie of the period, and the best of them like Sir Henry Lawrence, won the respect and affection of those with whom they had to deal The deepest enemies of the British were the old reactionary rulers who saw in them their supplanters The most progressive elements in Indian society, at that time, represented by Ram Mohan Roy and the reform movement of the Brahmo Samaj, looked with unconcealed admiration to the British as the champions of progress, gave unhesitating support to their reforms, and saw in them the vanguard of a new civilization'[9]

In spite of his great admiration for the British, Raja Ram Mohan Roy organized a protest movement against the measure to restrict the freedom of the press He also criticized the British government for excluding the Indians from higher posts.

Since the Brahmo Samaj was not merely a religious movement but also included in its programme items of social and political reform, it was the precursor of the subsequent social reform movement started by Ranade and others and the political reform movement initiated by the early Indian National Congress The religious reform movement thus prepared for purely secular social and political reform movements in the country That is the historical significance of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj he started. 'Raja Ram Mohan Roy inaugurated the Modern Age in India'[10]

Debendra Nath Tagore (1817-1905) who succeeded as the leader of the Brahmo Samaj developed scepticism about the infallibility of the scriptures and finally repudiated it He

substituted intuition for the authority of the scriptures By means of intuition he located sections of Upanishads which served as the religio-ideological basis of the doctrines and programmes of the Brahmo Samaj

Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-84) was the next leader of the Brahmo Samaj Under him, the doctrine of the Brahmo Samaj was more and more adapted to the doctrine of pure Christianity In later stages, he propounded the doctrine of Adesha, according to which God inspires knowledge in some individuals whose word must therefore be considered infallible and true A section of Brahmos did not accept this doctrine, left the Samaj and started the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj was the pioneer of the nationalist movement, which, by the workings of history, began as a religio-reform movement aiming at liberating the individual from the deadweight of an authoritarian religion which strangulated their initiative and stultified both the individual and collective mind

The Brahmo Samaj inaugurated a new era for the Indian people by proclaiming the principles of individual freedom, national unity, solidarity and collaboration, and the democratization of all social institutions and social relations It was the first organized expression of their national awakening

Prarthana Samaj

The Prarthana Samaj was founded in 1867 in Bombay by M G Ranade. It had a programme of religious and social reforms on the same lines as those of the Brahmo Samaj Its founder Ranade was one of the leaders of the Indian National Congress and the Indian Social Conference which held their first sessions in 1885 and 1888 respectively

Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj founded in Bombay in 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati, though embodying the first upsurge of Indian nationalism, was a movement of quite a different type It had a more revivalist character. It declared the Vedas infallible and, further, an inexhaustible reservoir of all knowledge, past, present, and future One must know how to understand

and interpret the Vedas, which contain all information, philosophical, technical, and scientific. By making adequate endeavour, one can discover in the Vedas all modern chemistry, engineering, and even military and non-military sciences[11]

Since the Vedas were proclaimed infallible, the word of the Vedas and not the judgement of the individual was the final criterion The Arya Samaj, by postulating the infallibility of the Vedas, did not and could not permit the individual judgement to override the divine text Thus the Arya Samaj, while freeing the individual from the tyranny and tutelage of the Brahmin, demanded of him implicit faith in the divine Vedas The authority of the Vedas was maintained instead of the freedom of the individual judgement

The repudiation of the authority of the Brahmin, the denouncing of the infinite number of meaningless rites and the worship of the images of different gods and goddesses which split the people into numerous belligerent sects, and the crusade against the mass of religious superstitions which kept, for many centuries, the Hindu mind in a state of mental befogging and spiritual degradation,—these were the progressive elements in the programme of the Arya Samaj Its slogan 'Back to Vedas' was inspired with the urge to bring about national unity and to kindle national pride and consciousness However, since it retained its narrow Hindu basis, the national unity it proclaimed could not gather into its fold the non-Hindu communities such as the Mahomedans and the Christians It became a semi-rationalized form of Hinduism

The Arya Samaj had a programme of social reform also Though opposed to the hereditary caste system, it stood, however, for the four-caste division of society to be determined by merit and not by birth Since the Vedas laid down such a division and since the Vedas could not err, the Arya Samaj could not proclaim the death of the caste system itself

The Arya Samaj stood for equal rights of man and woman in social and educational matters This was a distinct democratic conception It, however, opposed co-education since in the Vedic period co-education did not exist

The Arya Samaj organised a network of schools and colleges, in the country, both for boys and girls, where education was imparted in the mother-tongue The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic college was founded in 1886. The conservative

section of the Arya Samaj thought the education imparted in this college to be not sufficiently Vedic in character. Its members led by Munshi Ram, therefore, started Gurukul at Haradwar, where the education, both in content and method, was given in the ancient Vedic manner

In all its activities, the Arya Samaj was generally inspired with the spirit of nationalism and democracy. It attempted to integrate the Hindus by destroying the sub-castes It spread education among the people, proclaimed the principle of equality irrespective of the distinctions of caste, creed, community, race, or sex It tried to destroy their inferiority complex, the inevitable product of their status as a subject nation

The Arya Samaj, in spite of its narrow Hindu basis, of its rational declaration that all knowledge is enshrined in the Vedas, drew to itself hundreds of nationalist Indians. In fact, once, the Arya Samaj was one of the main targets of political repression It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when Sir Valentine Chirol visited India on behalf of *The Times* to investigate the causes of unrest after 1907, he looked upon the Arya Samaj as a serious menace to England and sovereignty '[12]

The Arya Samaj represented a form of the national awakening of the Indian people Restricted to a narrow Hindu basis and with a negative attitude to Islam, it, in course of time, led the Muslims to mobilize on a corresponding communal basis. It played a progressive role in the earlier stages when the national awakening was just sprouting. The Arya Samaj had two aspects, one progressive, the other reactionary When it attacked religious superstitions and the sacerdotal dictatorship of the Brahmin, when it denounced polytheism, and when further it adopted the programme of mass education, of the elimination of sub-castes, of the equality of man and woman, it played a progressive role. But when it declared the Vedas infallible and a treasure house of all knowledge of the cosmos, past, present, and future, when it stood for the division of society into four castes though based on merit, it was playing an anti-progressive role. No knowledge could ever be final in the infinite and eternally evolving social and natural world. So the Vedas could not be the embodiment of all knowledge Further, all knowledge is historically conditioned and is limited by the level of social and economic development of the epoch in which it is born. As such, subsequent generations have to

critically carry over all inherited past knowledge and subject it to the test of reason and social usefulness. Here comes the role of individual judgement. Once the Vedas were eulogized as infallible, the individual as well as the generation he belonged to, were denied the right to exercise their own independent judgement and pronounce upon the ancient scriptures. This was intellectual enslavement of the individual and the generation to the scriptures. It was a departure from the principles of Liberalism.

Again, the Arya Samaj could not be a national or cosmopolitan religion since it demanded of its followers the recognition of the principle of the infallibility and the omniscience of the Vedas.

However, as mentioned above, the Arya Samaj played a progressive role in the earlier stages of Indian nationalism. However, when the national awakening broadened and deepened, when the national movement reached greater and greater secular heights, it became a hindrance to the growth of Indian nationalism by contributing, though unconsciously, to the creation of a belligerent religio-communal atmosphere.

Ramakrishna Mission Movement

The national awakening of the Indian people found expression in the movement inspired by Ramakrishna, a great Hindu saint, in direct line to such saints as Chandidas and Chaitanya. It primarily based itself on the principle of Devotion or Bhakti. Its principal propagandist was Swami Vivekanand, a disciple of Ramakrishna and an intellectual of a very high calibre who, after the death of the saint, founded the Ramakrishna Mission to propagate his teaching.

The Ramakrishna Mission aimed at protecting India from 'the materialist' influences of western civilization. It idealized Hinduism including its practice of idol worship and polytheism. It aimed at the spiritual conquest of the world for revived Hinduism.[13]

One of the harmful results of the foreign rule in India had been to create a tendency among the Indians to disorient from the modern western culture, a historically higher form of culture than the pre-capitalist culture on which the conscious life of an average Indian was based.

There were other religio-reform movements of smaller magnitude which also expressed the new awakening Hinduism began to organize itself on a national scale in revivalist or reformist forms These movements spread to various groups comprising Hindu society.

Thus, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal Society having for its programme the reforming of the Hindu religion and dissemination of religious and non-religious education among the Hindus was started in 1902 In 1890, Shri Narayan launched the movement of the Tiyas, a community which worshipped demons and formed one of the lowest castes of the Hindu society, with the programme of building of temples and establishing schools for the community [14]

Theosophy

Theosophy introduced in India by Madame Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott in 1879 and mainly popularized by Mrs. Annie Besant was another religio-reform movement started in India under the impact of the new Indian and international conditions The uniqueness of this movement consisted in the fact that it was inaugurated by a non-Indian who was a great admirer of Hinduism Theosophy subscribed to the spiritual philosophy of ancient Hinduism and recognized its doctrine of the transmigration of the soul It preached universal brotherhood of men irrespective of distinctions of caste, creed, race, or sex It stood for the development of a national spirit among the Indians 'The needs of India' Mrs. Besant wrote in 1905, 'are, among others, the development of a national spirit, an education founded on Indian ideals and enriched, not dominated, by the thought and culture of the West '[15]

Theosophy stood for making a comparative study of all oriental religions However, it considered ancient Hinduism as the most profoundly spiritual religion in the world.

Theosophy, however, failed to strike deep roots in the country

There were minor religio-reform movements aiming at readjusting Hinduism to the social needs of the contemporary Indian people such as the Deva Samaj and the Radha Swami Satsang Like their major counterparts, these movements, too, aimed at integrating the Hindus round the original principles

of Hinduism, democratizing social relations among them, and firing them with a national emotion They, too, represented in religious form the new national awakening of the Hindus

Religious Reforms by Eminent Political Leaders

In addition to these organized national religio-reform and religio-revivalist movements, individuals of outstanding capacity and political pre-eminence, such as Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Tilak, and Gandhi, without organizing any distinct movements, contributed to the work of religious reform. Nationalism in Bengal was, though becoming increasingly secular, for some time religious in character It was influenced by the Neo-Vedantic movement of Swami Vivekanand. 'Hence the attempt on the part of the Bengalee Nationalists to base the movement for Swaraj on the ancient Upanishadic ideal of the search for the metaphysical Absolute in one's own innermost self Hence the worship of the Mother—the country symbolized as the Goddess Kali'[16]

Tilak reinterpreted the Gita and declared Action to be its central teaching The very kernel of the Gita's philosophy, he said, was missed by the Indian people who had, as a result, sunk into inertia and fatalistic moods The Indian nation could be roused to dynamic effort only if they recognized this

Tilak tried to provide nationalism with a dynamic philosophy by drawing from the ancient Hindu religion.

Thus the national movement aiming at national freedom from the British rule and the establishment of an Indian society and state on a democratic basis and on the basis also of the modern economy, became a function of an all-embracing religious movement Nationalism was expressed in religious terms and clothed in religio-mystical form Indian nationalism with its further development, however, progressively freed itself from the religious element with which it had been permeated It became increasingly secular.

Materialism, Its Near-absence in India

One striking peculiarity of the Indian national development was that neither its pioneers nor subsequent leaders evolved or accepted the materialist philosophy All leaders of Indian

nationalism, in the philosophical, political, or cultural field, such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Gokhale, Tilak, Banerjee, B C. Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, Lala Lajpat Rai, Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Iqbal, Jagdish Chandra Bose, and others, stood for, in different ways and varying degrees, a revision of traditional religions None of them, however, challenged or repudiated religion or the God-idea on which it is based None of them subscribed to the philosophy of materialism.

This was in contrast to the period of rising nationalism in Europe It is true that preponderatingly, almost overwhelmingly, the ideological leaders of European nationalism were idealists (in a philosophical sense) and God-believers Even such a redoubtable assailant of Christianity as Voltaire was a Deist. However, there was a minority current of materialism in the philosophical movement of the epoch Some of the French Encyclopaedists such as Holbach and Diderot were materialists. Further, after naional states and societies were established in various European countries, there sprang up a number of philosophers and scientists who propounded the doctrine of materialism Haeckel, Feurbach, and Marx belonged to this group In addition to thoroughgoing materialists, Europe of the period of nationalism projected agnostic philosophers like Kant and Herbert Spencer and sceptical thinkers like Hume [17]

In India, however, the history of the nationalist movement does not record the name of a single outstanding materialist, agnostic, or sceptical philosopher.

This may be due to the fact that Indian nationalism developed in a peculiar way. Modern materialism was an integral though a very small fractional part of the total European culture Since this culture happened to be the culture of the British who had conquered and dominated India, the nationalist leaders felt a conscious or subconscious recoil from it In the sphere of philosophy, India must stand on its own legs and must draw from its philosophical legacy from the past which was essentially religio-spiritual This is, perhaps, one of the principal reasons why these leaders shunned modern materialism and even thoroughgoing rationalism Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in spite of his rationalist approach, could not overcome his belief in the divinity of the Vedas. His successor, Debendra

Nath Tagore, endeavoured to achieve a synthesis of reason and intuition. Keshab Chandra Sen proclaimed himself as a prophet entrusted with messages from God to be delivered to humanity Pal and Aurobindo subscribed to the cult of spiritual mysticism. Lajpat Rai, the Arya Samajist, divinized the Vedas Finally, Gandhi, the greatest leader of Indian Nationalism, invoked 'the nner voice' when he was confronted with a complicated political or social problem

The presence of the foreign rule, consciously or unconsciously, prompted even a nationalist of high intellectual calibre not only to reject the foreign rule but often also to recoil from the culture of the ruling nation. These were, though incorrectly, identified The very growth of national consciousness arising out of the conditions of the foreign rule, which, on the whole, checked free national development, often urged the nationalist to invoke even the obscurantist and mystical parts of the nation's past culture and attempt to base the democratic and progressive contemporary national movement on them This introduced confusion and mysticism in the national movement and obstructed the growth of the national unity of various socio-religious groups. Politics became tainted with religion and was mystified.

Early Religio-reform Movements, Their Progressive Significance

In the initial stages, when Indian nationalism was immature, just sprouting, it found expression in such Liberal religio-reform movements as the Brahmo Samaj. The religious form of the national movement was conditioned by its very immaturity As such, these religio-reform movements played a historically progressive role, in spite of their limited rational and religious form They were the first nationalist breaches in the fortress of medievalism and the declaration in religious and social reform language, that the modern Indian nation was born and was growing Subsequently, when the national consciousness extended and the national movement became strong and even militant, such attempts as were made by the Left nationalists as Pal and Aurobindo to build them on the basis of the religio-mystical philosophy of ancient Hinduism, in a way, hindered their growth. These leaders did deepen and

made even militant the national consciousness of a section of the people, but, by associating nationalism with and even basing it on Hindu mysticism they also retarded the extension of its social basis. One of the many reasons why the national movement did not draw within its orbit wide sections of the Mahomedan community, was that even under the leadership of Gandhi, it continued to have a religious tinge It was surely not the decisive reason but one of the many reasons which could not be ignored. It is true that the nationalist movement headed by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi had a programme of the national democratic transformation of India and not of the establishment of any Hindu Raj. It is true that the Indian National Congress was a national organization, a mustering centre of all conscious nationalist forces But Gandhi's declared conception that politics should be spiritualized, be in line with religio-ethical principles, alienated those who wanted the national movement to remain secular Further, it introduced a mystical element in political calculations, often distorting the strategy of the movement.

Growth of Rationalism and Materialism

Rationalist and materialist philosophical ideas slowly began to spread in India after 1930 This was due to numerous reasons such as the wider interest of Indian intelligentsia in the political, sociological, and philosophical literature of the west after the war of 1914-18 The crisis of world capitalism and the bold claim of socialism that it was the historical successor of capitalism, made the politically-minded Indian youth study the socialist literature of the west including Marxism which was based on the philosophy of Dialectical Materialism A section of the Indian intellectuals actually accepted Marxism and its number began to expand The achievements of the Soviet Union were also helping to win over an increasing number of Indians to Marxist Materialism. Such political groups in India as the Congress Socialists, the Communists, the Royists, the Tagorites, and the Trotskyites, accepted Marxism as their philosophy

In addition to the Marxist materialist current, there was another current increasingly gaining ground in India, that of

Rationalism The number of Indian rationalists was also growing

The pioneers and leaders of nationalism were the educated class and the bourgeoisie. They based themselves on the new capitalist society which, historically a higher type, increasingly replaced the medieval social system in India They accepted its economic foundations They desired the free development of that society. Liberalism was the philosophy of rising capitalism It was a body of principles which guaranteed its growth And just as capitalism was a higher social system than the pre-capitalist one, Liberalism with its principles of national unification, individual liberty, democracy, equal rights of men, representative institutions, and rationalism, was a higher philosophy than pre-capitalist philosophies which were mostly based on religious obscurantism and defended ranks and privileges based on birth

Logically, the Indian intelligentsia, the pioneers of Indian nationalism, should have adopted the Liberal philosophy *in toto* However, since Liberalism originated in the west and since the Indian people were ruled by a western power, they rather remobilized old Hinduism, and either revived it in its ancient pure shape or tried to remodel it in a Liberal spirit to suit the needs of the new Indian society

National Awakening among Muslims, Reasons for its Slower Growth

The national awakening among the Indian Muslims took place at a slower rate than among the Hindus There were historical and religious reasons for that

Though a number of Hindu kingdoms had emerged during the period of the dissolution of the Mogul Empire after Aurangzeb, the Muslims always felt that they comprised the ruling community in India. They were particularly hostile to the British whom they accused of expropriating them of their political power. The British deposed during the Mutiny Shah Alam, the *de jure* if not the *de facto* Emperor of all India. The anti-Muslim policy of the British government after the Mutiny intensified the anti-British feeling of the Muslims

This made the Muslims avoid any contact with the new

culture and education which the British introduced in India. They avoided coming under the influence of that education and stuck with greater tenacity to orthodox Islam

The impoverishment of the Muslims during the process of the British conquest of India took place at a rapid rate. 'Many of the finer and more skilled industrial arts of India had been in the hands of Muslims, and they were ruined by the fiscal policy of the East India Company The higher posts in pre-British India, in the army, in the administration, and in the learned professions, had been in Muslim hands. Many of the higher and middle classes were reduced to beggary . there is no doubt that the Muslim mind at the beginning of the nineteenth century entertained the deepest distrust of the British, who had destroyed their power, and of western culture, which was in their mind associated with the British.'[18]

The Hindus availed themselves of the new education They projected an educated class, a section of which assimilated the principles of Liberalism, studied other religions and organized great reform movements On the other hand, the Muslims disorientated from the new education

The pioneers of nationalism in all countries were always the modern intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie Rising capitalism made the intelligentsia and the capitalist class which stood for the development of bourgeois society, the organizers of national movements. It was predominantly from the Hindu community that the first sections of the Indian intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie sprang They became the pioneers of Indian nationalism.

It was only by the end of the nineteenth century that the Muslims began to take to modern education Gradually an intelligentsia trained in modern education came into being A section of that intelligentsia steadily built up a nationalist outlook Along with this, a commercial and industrial bourgeoisie also began to grow among the Muslim community Nationalism began to spread among the Muslims

Another factor which retarded the growth of nationalism among the Indian Muslims was the basic character of Islam. Islam emphasizes more fanatically than any other religion the unity of its followers It preaches a world fraternity of its followers It is a cosmopolitan union of the Muslims all over the world It offers greater resistance to the growth of nation-

alism which has a limited national territorial basis. It gives rise either to pan-Islamism or Humanism.

When a country is preponderatingly inhabited by the Muslims (Arabia, Turkey) and where capitalist economic development has taken place, the Muslims of that country become nationalists and evolve a national consciousness While Islam retards, more than any other medieval religion, the growth of nationalism, such international programmes as socialism spread more rapidly among the petty bourgeois and poor sections of the Muslim population

'The writer in her talks found out that the Muslim youth were more inclined to Jawaharlal Nehru, the socialist leader, than to any other in the political field . And it is evident that Socialism has gained ground among the youth and student organizations The Punjab Socialist Party consists mostly of Muslims and the Frontier Socialist Party consists mostly of Muslims and the Frontier Socialist Party has the largest membership in all India '[19]

'I think that the Muslim rank and file has more potentially in it, perhaps because of a certain freedom in social relations, than the Hindu masses, and is likely to go ahead faster in a socialist direction, once it gets moving '[20]

Islam arose out of the democratic ferment of the common people of Arabia against the privileged strata of society As such, it has a democratic ring Islam preaches the principle of social equality This makes the propaganda of international socialism more successful among the Muslim rank and file

In spite of this relative inertia of the Muslims, from the point of view of their development on nationalist lines, there sprang up, in course of time, a number of religio-revivalist and even religio-reform movements among them. These movements were, however, not so powerful as their counterparts among the Hindus. Besides, most of them lacked the national note There were four such main movements started by (1) Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, (2) Saiyid Ahmad of Bareli, (3) Shaikh Karamat Ali of Jaunpur and (4) Haji Shariat-ullah of Faridpur [21]

These four movements were more of a revivalist character

Ahmadiya Movement

The Armadiya Movement founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad

in 1889 was more or less based on Liberal principles. It described itself as the standard bearer of Mahomedan Renaissance It based itself, like the Brahmo Samaj, on the principles of a universal religion of all humanity The founder was greatly influenced by western liberalism, theosophy, and religio-reform movements of the Hindus

The Ahmadiya Movement opposed Jehad or the sacred war against non-Muslims It stood for fraternal relations among all peoples[22]

The movement spread western liberal education among the Indian Muslims It started a network of schools and colleges for that purpose and published periodicals and books, both in English and vernaculars

In spite of its liberalism, the Ahmadiya Movement, like Bahaism which flourished in the West Asiatic countries, suffered from mysticism It, however, represented an attempt on the part of Islam to assimilate the principles of western liberalism

As mentioned already, due to historical causes, the Muslim community embarked on a career of national democratic progress later than the Hindus 'The tragedy of the great revolt in 1857-8 marks the death of the old order, and brought political, economic, and cultural disaster to the Indian Muslims. It made their sullenness, their aloofness, their suppressed hatred for the new order more marked than ever. . . The key to the whole situation was adaptation to the new environment, use of the new forces that had come into play, acceptance of the new instrument of progress that had been created through English education '[23]

This recoil from the new reality could not last for ever. Soon, the Muslims took to education and created an intelligentsia They also appeared in the field of commerce and industries. The progressive elements among these new educated Muslims and Muslim merchants and industrialists steadily evolved a national outlook and took to the road of nationalism in politics and democratic reform in social matters.

Aligarh Movement

The first national awakening among the Muslims found expression in a movement which aimed at making the Indian Mus-

lims politically conscious and spreading modern education among them Saiyad Ahmed Khan was the founder of this movement. He had such able collaborators as the poet Khwaja Altaf Hussain Hali, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, and Maulvi Shibli Numani

The liberal social reform and cultural movement founded by Sir Saiyad Ahmed Khan is known as the Aligarh Movement because it was at Aligarh that the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College was established by it in 1875. This college developed into the Aligarh University in 1890

Along with it, an all-India Muslim Educational Conference was also organized

The Aligarh Movement aimed at spreading the western education among the Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam The religious education reinforced the secular education which was imparted in the educational institutions it started.

The second task it undertook was to introduce social reform in the Muslim society

The Aligarh Movement aimed at evolving a distinct social and cultural community among the Indian Muslims more or less on modern lines It condemned polygamy and the social ban on widow-remarriage which, though permitted by Islam, had crept in among some sections of the Muslims who were recent converts from Hinduism

The Aligarh Movement was based on a liberal interpretation of the Quran It tried to harmonize Islam with the modern liberal culture

After the starting of the Aligarh Movement, independent more or less progressive movements sprang up in Bombay, the Punjab, Hyderabad, and other places.

Sir Mahmud Iqbal

Sir Mahmud Iqbal, the poet of world celebrity, played an important role in the history of the Indian Muslims Though he supported the Liberal movement, he asked the Muslim Liberals to be on guard so that the broad human principle which Islam stood for was not thrown in the background by emphasis on the nation and the race[21]

Iqbal described the European civilization as inhuman,

rapacious, predatory, and decadent. He even quoted such writers as Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Spengler, and Karl Marx holding conflicting views to denounce its different aspects. He passionately attacked the European civilization in poems which are pearls of Persian and Urdu poetry. He was essentially a humanist and considered Islam as a religion of broadest humanism.[25]

In the later phase of his life, however, Iqbal exhibited a reactionary tendency He opposed democracy as a system and became hostile to the Indian nationalist movement [26] As W C. Smith, in his book, *Modern Islam in India*, remarks, 'His opposition to "Westernism" instead of to capitalism . left him a prey to anti-liberal reactionaries And thus has the noblest of visionaries of tomorrow's just and world-wide brotherhood, been turned by it into the champion of the most retrograde . . sectionalists.'

Other Muslim Reform Movements

In course of time, the movement for the emancipation of the Muslim women and for combating such institutions as purdah, came into existence Tyabji, an enlightened and progressive Muslim, was the founder of this movement in Bombay Shaikh Abdul Halil Sharar (1860-96), an outstanding author and journalist, organized a veritable crusade against purdah in the United Provinces

With the spread of Liberal ideas among the Muslims, the movement to improve the social position of the Muslim women and to abolish customs which were detrimental to them, began to gain strength Polygamy began to diminish as also child marriage The All-India Muslim Conference made a special and regular financial provision for advancing the education of the Muslim women

Individual Muslims and Muslim organizations established an increasing number of educational institutions for the Muslim women all over India. Slowly education began to spread among the Muslim women

Thus the religio-reform and socio-reform movements grew and gathered momentum among the Muslims also The rise of Turkish and Arab nationalism and the establishment of a national secular state in Turkey, had the effect of broadening

the outlook of the Indian Muslims. Modernized Turkey had the effect of modernizing the mind of an increasing number of the Indian Muslims. The rise and development of the Indian national movement also increasingly brought the Muslims into the orbit of the Indian nationalism The independent workers' and peasants' movements which developed rapidly in India later on and were mostly led by the communists, the socialists and the Left nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru, had the effect of making the Muslim masses national-minded and class-conscious These movements became the training ground for the masses of both communities and spheres of collaboration to serve national and common class tasks. The economic structure and the existing foreign rule urged them to come together and co-operate for common liberation.

Religio-reform Movements, Their Reactionary Role in Subsequent Period

It should be further noted that the religio-reform movements in the earlier phases of Indian nationalism, when it was just growing, was immature and restricted to a small section, were the forms in which the national awakening found expression and even further developed for some time. In the phases, however, when new classes and communities came into existence or developed national, class, or group consciousness, and, further, when the national movement acquired a broader multi-class and multi-communal basis, most of these very religio-reform movements, instead of becoming forms of development and expression of the national consciousness, became fetters on its development. Some of them even became anti-national disruptive forces retarding the process of a united national movement for freedom. The reversal of their role was mainly due to their transformation from national religio-reform movements into religio-communal movements. This became particularly manifest from 1918 onwards In the conditions of the phenomenal growth of the progressive nationalist and class movements in the country since this year some of the old and other new religio-communal movements which sprang up became camouflaged instruments of sectional vested interests They weakened the steadily growing national unity of the Indian people, and the economic and political unity of the

poor strata of various communities which organized trade union, peasant, and other movements against those vested interests

Further, the religio-communal movements subserved the British interests. The introduction of such devices as communal representation and electorate objectively thwarted the growth of national unity by perpetuating communal distinctions.

During the recent phase of general capitalist decline admitted by all outstanding economists and politicians, when progressive national and class movements were steadily gathering strength, vested interests, foreign and Indian, found in religious mysticism and communalism useful forces to weaken and confuse these movements to their national advantage.

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CHAPTER XVIII

RISE OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AS THE EXPRESSION OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Political Nationalism, Outcome of Foreign Domination

THE British conquest of India was prompted and its rule motivated naturally by the considerations of the British interests. The state power held by Britain in India was, therefore, basically exercised to safeguard and develop the British interests This brought Britain into conflict with the Indian people and the various classes and groups composing it in varying degree, since the interests of the latter collided with the British interests Political nationalism was the outcome of this conflict of intersts and gave birth to various political movements in the country. These movements had for their objective an increasing share in political power and successively Dominion Status, Home Rule and even complete Independence The political movements embodied the striving of the Indian people and its various sections to secure political power which they could use to serve their respective social, economic and other interests.

The industrial bourgeoisie found in the absolute control of India by Britain an obstacle to carry through its programme of unfettered industrial development The educated classes found in the monopoly of key posts in the state machinery by the British an obstacle to their just ambition to secure jobs. The sons of the soil, the peasantry, found in the new land and revenue systems introduced by Britain the basic cause of their progressive impoverishment. The proletariat found in the British rule a foreign undemocratic agency preventing it from developing class struggles for improving their conditions of

life and labour and finally for ending the wage system itself under which they were exploited.

Further, the Indian people, as a whole, recognized in the British rule an alien rule which barred their normal social, economic and cultural development. They also wanted political power to end such evils as race discrimination, the sacrifice of Indian interests in dominions and colonies such as South Africa, Kenya, Malaya, Ceylon and others The national sentiment almost spontaneously arises among the people who are ruled by a foreign nation since this rule imposes basic handicaps on the free development of the subject nation[1]

First Sproutings

Though Indian nationalism as an organized movement developed during the last decades of the nineteenth century, its first sproutings were visible in the beginning of that century The rise of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 was a religious expression of the rising national awakening of the advanced Hindu intelligentsia who received the modern education introduced by Britain in India and who came in contact with the western democratic ideologies through that education Secular political organizations such as the British India Society established in 1843 and the British Indian Association, which resulted out of the amalgamation of the few existing political groups in the country in 1851, also sprang up during this early period

These early political groups, which embodied the first feeble beginnings of the rise of Indian political nationalism, were composed of a few individuals and lacked a popular basis They could not also exist on an all-India scale since the whole of India became British territory long after they were formed. Indian nationalism as an organized and all-India movement (though with a narrow social basis) came into existence only in the last decades of the second half of the century when proper historical conditions matured for its birth.

But before tracing the rise and surveying the development of this organized nationalist movement, we will refer to the revolt of 1857 which was the last powerful attempt of the social classes of the old society, which were being politically and economically expropriated as a result of the British conquest, to drive out the British from India and to revert to

the pre-British social and political existence.

Revolt of 1857, Its Causes

The revolt of 1857 was the result of the accumulated discontent among the various strata of the old Indian society who suffered by the British political conquest, by the new economic forces and measures brought into operation by that conquest, and by the various social innovations introduced in the country by the British government.

It would be a misunderstanding of the revolt of 1857 if it were interpreted as a mere mutiny of the Indian sepoys. It had a far broader social basis Dr Duff remarked.

'Why, if it had been merely a military mutiny, in the midst of an unsympathetic, unaiding population, a few decisive victories, such as we had, might quash it . And it is a fact that it is not a mere military revolt but a rebellion—a revolution . . .

'From the very outset, it has been gradually assuming more and more the character of a rebellion—a rebellion on the part of vast multitudes beyond the Sepoy army, against British supremacy and sovereignty.'[2]

The annexationist policy of the British, especially of Lord Dalhousie, which brought about the liquidation of a number of Indian feudal states, the new land revenue system which reduced, by its heavy pressure, the mass of the Indian peasantry to acute economic misery, as well as the large-scale ruination of millions of Indian artisans and handicraftsmen as a result of the influx of the machine-made goods of the British industries in the Indian market, were the principal causes of the revolt of 1857 which expressed the profound discontent of sections of these social layers.

The expropriated feudal chiefs who mainly led the revolt desired to recover their lost territories. Even the unexpropriated princes felt the menace of expropriation hanging over their head and a number of them joined the revolt.

There was disaffection also among the workers on indigo and other plantations owned by the British, due to their miserable conditions of life and labour under their foreign employers Sections of them, too, developed anti-British moods.

There were other factors which accentuated the anti-Bri-

tish sentiment among the people. The excessive proselytizing zeal of the European Christian missionary bodies created a suspicion that the British were conspiring to convert all Indians to Christianity The pundits and maulvis, whose authority and power were diminished as a result of the measures introduced by the British government such as secularization of the legal system, abolition of customs like suttee, and introduction of modern education which generally challenged the views of religion regarding the world and social relations, often deliberately stimulated this suspicion.

Further, in the general atmosphere of distrust and hostility engendered by the violent political subjugation of the country and ruinous economic consequences of the operation of the new economic forces to the life of the people, even progressive measures such as the construction of railways and the establishment of the telegraph system were interpreted as acts of black magic by which the white wizards schemed to tie India in iron chains These factors deepened the distrust and hostility of the people towards the British government. It was the revolt primarily of forces of the old Indian society threatened with extinction by the British political conquest of India and the new economic forms introduced in the country

The revolt was suppressed by the British by ruthless methods[3] There were a number of causes leading to its failure. There was the lack of unity among the insurgents They lacked a uniform military strategic plan There was no co-ordination The revolt was also not universal. There was no effective leadership There were conflicts of class interests among the ranks of the insurgent groups such as those between the zemindars and feudal princes on the one hand and the cultivating farmers on the other.

'The lack of unity in the forces against the British was a factor of which they took full advantage The native chiefs soon realized that if they joined too closely with the peasants and artisans, the control of the movement would gradually slip out of their hands'[4]

Further, the British divided the united front of the classes in revolt by definite measures.

'The policy of wholesale annexation was discontinued The peasants were still further subordinated to the landlords, as the British supported

the latter in their demands for compulsory labour . The British also tried to break up the unity of the peasants (1) by granting certain privileges to the larger peasant farmers; and (2) by enacting laws under which peasant lands could be bought and sold'[5]

Character and Significance of the Revolt

The revolt of 1857 cannot be regarded as national in the full modern sense of the word. Though the sentiment was anti-foreign, there was no positive national content in it The different sections of the people who had participated did not feel that they were parts of one single nation living a common political and economic existence. The political programme of the feudal leadership of the revolt had a negative significance only—the expulsion of the foreigner. They did not and could no formulate the scheme of a national state for all India or a programme of any reconstruction of Indian society There was no national consiousness among them In fact, they were united only in the task of eliminating foreign rule but, in its place, they wanted to re-establish the same disunited feudal India of the pre-British period, at best a confederacy of feudal states under the Delhi Emperor.

'The rising of 1857 was in its essential character and dominant leadership the revolt of the old conservative and feudal forces and dethroned potentates for their rights and privileges which they saw in process of destruction The reactionary character of the rising prevented any wide measure of popular support and doomed it to failure'[6]

There were noble fighters among the insurgents They courted the gallows for an ideal But the ideal was historically a reactionary one, the ideal of a political India, though free from foreign control, split up into a congeries of principalities with a feudal social basis and with a feudal economy

Though the revolt of 1857 was not motivated by the historically progressive conception of the national unification of the Indian people on a democratic basis, its bold challenge to the British rule had been a source of patriotic inspiration, in subsequent years, to a great majority of the Indian people. It became a symbol of the people's will to throw off the foreign yoke Its heroic personalities like the Queen of Jhansi were canonized Some political groups, terrorists and extreme left nationalists, even regarded it as a dress rehearsal for the

future successful struggle for freedom. Other political groups, on the other hand, while recognizing it as an inevitable and heroic reaction of a subjugated and exploited people to the foreign rule, pointed out the historically reactionary purpose animating the uprising, especially its feudal leadership.[7]

The revolt of 1857 revealed in action, for the first time in Indian history, that a large-scale alliance between the Hindus and the Muslims against the British rule was possible.[8] It created a tradition for a united nationalist movement of the Indian people.

New Strategy of British Rule

The end of the 'Mutiny' inaugurated a new stage in the history of the relations of India and Britain. Not only did the British Crown assume the direct political control of India but also the policy of the British rule underwent a change.

Till 1857, the aim of the British was to liquidate the native states and convert entire India into a British territory directly governed by the East India Company. In light of the experience of the revolt of 1857, this aim was relinquished in favour of a decision to perpetuate those states which were still unannexed The new policy of Britain aimed at transforming the rulers of these states into 'allies', so many loyal supporters of the British rule in India

This was definitely a point of departure in the British political strategy Till 1857, the British were engaged in destroying the Indian disunity represented by the existence of a multitude of feudal states into which India was split up. It is true that the methods adopted were violent and the political motive, the subjugation of India to her own rule, undemocratic Still, objectively, Britain was performing thereby the historically progressive task of integrating India into a single political whole.

After 1857, to safeguard her rule, Britain abandoned this policy of the annexation of the native states She perpetuated these reactionary states and even undertook to defend them against all attacks from within and without Thus Britain became not a foe of Indian feudalism but its defender, not only from external danger but also from the rising progressive forces within these states.

Thus British capitalism which in its own country overthrew feudalism preserved it in India. These artificially perpetuated feudal states, barring a few, became strongholds of political, social and cultural reaction[9]

Karl Marx remarked: ' . . . The conditions under which they (the native states) are allowed to retain their apparent independence are, at the same time, the conditions of a permanent decay and of an utter inability of improvement Organic weakness is the constitutional law of their existence, as of all existences living upon sufferance . . . the native Princes are the strongholds of the present abominable English system and the greatest obstacle to Indian progress. . . .'[10]

Inasmuch as Britain based its rule on reactionary feudalism, the limited progressive role of the British conquest of India was proportionately diminished.

Its Consequences

There was a significant consequence of this new policy in the country. When in course of time, the populations of the native states, living under coercive political, social and economic conditions, became politically conscious and organized struggles against the autocratic princes for representative government and other democratic demands, they also inevitably came in conflict with the British government which was committed to protect these princes Thus the struggle of the states' people against the princes merged into the struggle of the people in British India for freedom and steadily developed as a united national movement of the entire Indian people against the British government supported by and supporting the princes (excepting in cases of 'gross maladministration')

Not only did the British government keep alive after the Mutiny, for political strategic reasons, the enfeebled and pronouncedly reactionary feudal states in colonial India, but adopted a general policy of aligning itself and supporting non-progressive forces in the country. Lord Lytton openly declared in 1876 that the Crown of England should henceforth be identified with the hopes, the aspirations, the sympathies and the interests of a powerful native aristocracy'. Temple wrote, 'towards the end of my time (1848-80) I thought that a native aristocracy based on antiquity and on the traditions of indi-

genous rule might be consolidated and developed under British rule.'[11]

The introduction of a relatively free press during the first half of the nineteenth century was one of the progressive acts of the British government After the Mutiny, with a few zigzags, the general policy of the government was to curtail increasingly the freedom of the press.

While Britain aggressively intervened in the social life of the Indian people during the pre-Mutiny period and campaigned against barbarous social practices like suttee and legislated against a number of them, it adopted a general policy of neutrality regarding social matters after 1857 Social reform groups like those of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others, which got active support of the government in the former period in their crusade against reactionary social institutions and practices, had, after the Mutiny, not only to combat the forces of social reaction but also the apathy of the state in achieving their progressive work. Such an attitude on the part of the government only tended to strengthen the traditionally entrenched conservative forces of society.

Thus, the policy of Britain regarding India underwent almost a metamorphosis after 1857. Its former orientation towards and support to the new progressive forces within the Indian society was replaced by a growing gravitation and support to the conservative forces of that society

Principal Events between 1857 and 1885

Before tracing the rise of the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885 by the liberal Indian intelligentsia supported by a section of the commercial bourgeoisie and which signalized the first real growth of the Indian national movement on an all-India basis, we will refer to some of the principal events between 1857 and 1885

The social forces of the old society were vanquished in their final attempt at rehabilitating their former power and status in 1857 They were too exhausted and weakened to embark upon a fresh enterprise in future.

The new social forces namely the intelligentsia and the comercial bourgeoisie, which were to be the pioneers of the first organized nationalist movement, had still not matured to

begin their historic task It was only after 1870 that, due to the combination of a number of factors, the country was again permeated with serious political ferment and the new social forces acquired appreciable political consciousness and economic and numerial strength and began to be politically articulate. The new development resulted in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885

The period between 1857 and 1870, however, witnessed two anti-British movements the declared aim of which was the armed overthrow of the British government. These were, the movement of the Wahabis, a militant Muslim sect, whose adherents had participated in the revolt of 1857 and who, after it was suppressed, continued their activities for some years, and that of a group of Marathas who, undaunted by the defeat of 1857, carried on subsequently, conspirational activity for the same aim By 1871, the Wahabi movement, after a series of armed collisions, was successfully suppressed by the government The anti-British conspirational Maratha centre at Poona was unearthed in 1863 and suppressed by the government These two movements were the last remnants of the revolt.

Disastrous Famines and Peasant Uprisings

It was, however, after 1870 that large-scale political and economic discontent developed culminating in the rise of the premier political organization of the Indian nation, the Indian National Congress established in 1885. In the post-Mutiny period, the discontent of the agrarian population began to grow steadily due to their progressive impoverishment under the British rule The increasing burden of land revenue and rents was intensely felt by the peasant population The crippling of handicraft and artisan industries had reached serious dimensions by 1870 resulting in a disastrous overpressure on agriculture The agricultural depression of 1870 seriously affected the farmers and led to an alarming growth of indebtedness among them A number of disastrous famines broke out between 1867 and 1880 The famine of 1877 was exceptionally severe affecting an area of '200,000 square miles and a population of thirty-six millions', in Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country [12]

'The group of famines which occurred between 1865 and 1880 are important, not only for the suffering and loss of life involved, but because they happened at a transitional period when India was gradually changing on to a cash basis most ryots were forced to go to their moneylenders, and the famine following the slump meant the final degradation and enslavement of the producer'[13]

The discontent of the peasantry born of the economic distress broke out in the form of a number of peasant riots, the Deccan Peasant Rising of 1875 being the most serious among them The government recognized the gravity of the situation and appointed the Deccan Ryots Commission in the same year to investigate into the whole agrarian situation Due to the havoc worked by frequently occurring famines, it also appointed the Famine Commission of 1878.

The financial burden of the Second Afghan War and the extravagant and spectacular Durbar held at Delhi in 1877 to proclaim Queen Victoria as the Empress of India while a famine was raging in the country, intensified the resentment of the people Further, the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 restricting the freedom of the Indian Press and the Arms Act of 1879, both enacted during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, only fanned the fire of rapidly gathering discontent of the people The situation threatened to be almost explosive

Ilbert Bill

There were other factors also which contributed to widen the gulf between the Indian people and the British. The consciousness of being the members of the ruling white race bred an arrogant attitude towards the Indians among most of the British, official and non-official[14] This provoked bitter anti-British feeling among the Indians.

When Lord Ripon projected the Ilbert Bill providing equal treatment of the Indians and Europeans in the sphere of criminal jurisdiction, the entire European community organized powerful and fierce agitation against it A plot was also hatched 'to put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpat Ghat and send him to England via the Cape.'[15]

'It is this consciousness of inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe

that no rank which we can bestow upon him would cause him to be considered as an equal by the British officer'[16]

The Bill was defeated as a result of the almost rabid opposition of the European community. It had the effect of accentuating the bitter feelings between the two races The Indians were disillusioned about the impartiality of the British administration. The racial discrimination was also reflected in the fact that all higher posts in the administration were the preserve of the Europeans. The educated classes of the Indian people especially resented this.

When the age limit for the Civil Service Examination held in England was reduced in 1877 from twenty-one to nineteen, Surendra Nath Banerjee organized agitation against it, describing it as a deliberate attempt by the government to make it difficult for an Indian to get higher posts in the administration

The government further removed the import duties on cotton goods in 1882 with a view to aiding the Lancashire textile industry. This open partisanship of the British economic interests at the expense of India increased its unpopularity. Increasing discontent grew among different sections of the Indian people, the agriculturists, the artisans and the intelligentsia.

Growing Discontent and New Leadership

The educated middle class intellectuals were also moved by another and a higher motive when they organized and led the nationalist movement in India The new education which they had imbibed in the schools and colleges established by the British, brought them the knowledge of the democratic thought of the modern Europe and also of the nationalist struggles for freedom which took place in different countries The educated Indians read about the War of Independence of the American people, of the Italian struggle for national liberation from the Austrian domination, of the Irish struggle for freedom. They also studied the works of Thomas Paine, Spencer, Burke, Mill, Voltaire, Mazzini, and other writers who preached the doctrines of individual and national liberty. These educated Indians became the ideological and political leaders of the nationalist movement in India.

The leadership provided by the new intelligentsia to the forces of rising Indian nationalism was historically progressive in contrast to the feudal leadership of the forces of the anti-British Revolt of 1857 The new intelligentsia was imbued with the ideas of modern nationalism and democracy It wanted, in the initial stage with the aid of the British democracy, to evolve an Indian nation, socially, politically, and economically united, free and progressive, in contrast to the leadership of the revolt of 1857 which aspired, after removing the foreign rule, to restore the old India based on feudal disunity or at best to construct a federation of independent feudal states based on absolutism.

The period between 1870 and 1885 witnessed a steady growth of a nationalist press and literature which reflected the growing discontent among the people. 'The Press, the theatre, and the secret revolutionary societies were especially active in Bengal in forwarding nationalist aims The lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini were translated, whilst the goal of national liberation was proclaimed in such work as the *History of India Gained in a Dream*'[17] *Neel-Darpan,* a drama in Bengalee, portrayed the sufferings and struggles of the workers of European-owned indigo plantations.

The political and economic discontent of the Indian people which had been gathering steadily, especially after 1870, almost threatened to reach an explosive point by 1883 The anti-popular measures of Lord Lytton's government seriously accentuated this discontent. 'These ill-starred measures of reaction, combined with Russian methods of police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak, and it was only in time that Mr Hume and his Indian advisers were inspired to intervene'[18]

Hume's Feeling for "Safety Valve"

Hume, who subsequently in co-operation with the Liberal Indian intelligentsia founded the Indian National Congress, recognized that the popular discontent against the British government threatened to explode into a revolt. Being in the government service till 1882, he 'received possession of the very voluminous secret police reports which revealed the growth of popular discontent and the spreading of under-

ground conspiratorial organization.'[19]

It was the perspective of a serious revolt in the country that prompted Hume to interview Lord Dufferin, then the Viceroy of India. Soon after, Hume, in collaboration with outstanding liberal intellectuals in the country, founded the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Congress could serve as a focal point for national discontent, especially that of the educated classes, and guide this discontent in channels of constitutional movements for the Indian political advance It could also keep the government informed about the views of the educated classes regarding the measures of the government.

That the Congress was designed as a safety valve for revolutionary discontent was made clear by Hume itself. 'A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety valve, than our Congress Movement could possibly be devised.'[20]

In his correspondence with Sir Auckland Colvin, Hume remarked that

'No choice was left to those who gave the primary impetus to the movement The ferment due to the creation of Western ideas, education, invention and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing-intensity, and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge, instead of leaving them to fester as they had already commenced to do, under the surface '[21]

Other historians also take the same view

'The years just before the Congress were among the most dangerous since 1857. It was Hume, among English officials, who saw the impending disaster and tried to prevent it . He went to Simla in order to make clear to the authorities how almost desperate the situation become. . . It is probable that his visit made the new Viceroy, who was a brilliant man of affairs, realize the gravity of the situation and encouraged Hume to go on with the formation of the Congress The time was fully ripe for this All-Indian movement In place of an agrarian revolt, which would have sympathy and support of the educated classes, it gave the rising classes a national platform from which to create a New India.'[22]

There already existed a number of political organizations in various parts of the country before the Indian National

Congress was formed, such as the Indian Association founded by S N Banerjee in Bengal, the Bombay Association started by Dadabhai Naoroji and Jagannath Sankerseth in Bombay; the Sarvajanik Sabha established by Chiplunkar in Poona; and others. There did not, however, still exist a national organization on an all-India basis.

Founding of Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress, the premier political organization of the Indian people, held its first session in Bombay in 1885. It was attended by almost all outstanding leaders of Indian nationalism.

The Liberal intelligentsia who dominated the Congress from 1885 to 1905 were the leaders of the Indian nationalist movement in its first phase. There were such distinguished figures among them as W. C Bonnerjee, Anand Mohan Bose, Lal Mohan Ghose, A C Mazumdar, Rash Bihari Ghose, Surendra Nath Banerjee, and R. C. Dutt from Bengal; Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, Apte, Agarkar, Telang, Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, D E. Wachha, Malabari and Chandavarkar from Bombay, P R. Naidu, Subramannya Aiyer, Ananda Charlu, and Virraghavachariar from Madras, also Keshav Pillai, Pandit Malaviya, and Pandit Dhar. Liberal Englishmen like Hume, Wedderburn and Henry Cotton also played a conspicuous role in the development of the Congress organization and its activities[23]

W. C Bonnerjee, the President of the first session of the Congress, enumerated the principal objects of the Congress as (1) the development of close relations between national workers, (2) the dissolution of race, creed, and provincial prejudices among all lovers of the country and further development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity among them, (3) the recording of the conclusions on vital Indian problems reached by educated Indians after earnest discussions of these problems, and (4) outlining of the programme of work for the next year.

The Congress passed resolutions formulating for the first time demands by a national organization, such as the abolition of the India Council, simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S. and raising the age of candidates, admission of elected

members to existing legislative councils, and creation of councils in the N.W.F.P., Oudh, and the Punjab.[24]

Thus, the demands of the first Congress, started and directed by the Liberal politicians, were modest and restricted to administrative reform and introduction of the elective principle in legislatures. Further, Hume, on behalf of the Congress, at the close of the session, proposed cheers for Victoria, the Queen-Empress, thereby stressing the loyalist character of the Congress.

Liberal Leadership, Its Principles and Methods

We shall proceed to describe the principles and methods of struggle of Liberal nationalism.

The Indian Liberals had almost unlimited faith in the British democracy. They considered the British rule in India as providentially brought about and designed to lift India to a high plane of free, progressive, democratic, national existence. 'The rationale of British rule in India is its capacity and providential purpose of fostering the political education of the country on the largest scale in civil and public activities', said Justice Ranade.[25]

The Indian Liberals looked to Britain for guiding the Indian people to overcome their social and cultural backwardness and for training them in the art of representative government. Surendranath Bannerji said in 1895, 'To England we look for inspiration and guidance . . . From England must come the crowning mandate which will enfranchise our peoples. England is our political guide . . . in the exalted sphere of political duty.'[26] And further, 'We have great confidence in the justice and generosity of the English people. We have abounding faith in the liberty-loving instincts of the greatest representative assembly in the world, the British House of Commons, the Mother of Parliaments, where sits enthroned the newly enfranchised democracy of those islands . . . Wherever the English have raised their flag and have formed their governments, they have formed them upon the representative model.'[27]

The Indian Liberals considered the interests of Britain and India allied rather than antagonistic. Hence they were loyalists and enthusiastic champions of British connections. S.

Bannerjee declared 'It is not severance that we look forward to—but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire that has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions'[28]

Dadabhai Naoroji expressed the same Liberal view when he said, 'Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone, that we understand the benefits English rule has conferred upon us'[29]

The Liberals recognized that the Congress did not represent the masses but only interpreted their grievances 'The Congress was, indeed, not the voice of the masses but it was the duty of their educated compatriots to interpret their grievances and offer suggestions for their redress'[30]

The Liberals believed in orderly progress, subscribed to the principle of slow evolution and were opposed to any revolutionary change 'The people of India are not fond of sudden changes and revolutions They do not ask for new constitutions, issuing like armed Minervas from the heads of Legislative Jupiters They desire to strengthen the present government and to bring it more in touch with the people. They desire to see some Indian members in the Secretary of State's Council, and in the Viceroy's Executive Council, representing Indian agriculture and industries . They wish to represent the interests of the Indian people in the discussion of every important administrative question.'[31]

Believing in orderly progress in alliance with and with the aid of the British nation, the Liberals rejected all revolutionary, sudden changes and methods of struggle. To achieve their programme, they adopted the weapon of constitutional agitation, whereby they, on the one hand, strove to rouse and educate the Indian people, and, on the other, to convince the British of the justness of the demands of the Indian people and of their democratic duty to meet them Constitutional agitation was agitation by methods which they were entitled to adopt to bring about the changes they desired through the action of constitutional authorities Three things were excluded rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and resort to crime Roughly speaking, barring these three things, all else was constitutional No doubt, everything that was constitutional was not wise or expedient But that was a different matter. Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one

end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end.'[32]

Its Progressive Role

In spite of their numerous political misconceptions, the Indian Liberals, who represented the interests of the development of a modern bourgeois society in India, played a progressive role. They were the architect of the first all-India political national organization. They infused national consciousness among sections of the Indian people, disseminated among them democratic conceptions, and popularized the idea of representative institutions. They exhorted them to feel as Indians, irrespective of all provincial or communal distinctions. They were passionate supporters of the spread of the rich democratic and scientific culture of modern Europe in India and zealously campaigned against the medieval obscurantism and authoritarian social structure inherited from the pre-British period. They stood for democratization of social relations and economic advance through industrialization.

The intelligentsia, the upper stratum of the educated classes, and the commercial bourgeoisie (the industrial bourgeoisie had not still come into existence to any appreciable degree in 1885) formed the main social basis of the Indian National Congress at its inception. The programme of the Congress embodying mainly such items as, the Indianization of Services, the removal of discrimination in trade, and others, reflected the interests of these groups of Indian society.

A number of the political misconceptions of the Liberals were the result of their inability to comprehend the real nature of the existing relations between Britain and India. They could not see that India was an economic colony of British capitalism and as such Britain could not permit the free economic development of the country. The economic development of India had to be subordinated to the needs of British capital and, therefore, necessarily retarded. The Liberals could not perceive this objectively existing conflict of interests of Britain and those of India. Further, since her political rule was a means primarily to safeguard the British interests, Britain could not part with power or grant administrative reforms

of a far-reaching character. The problem was not ethical but was that of conflicting political and economic interests

The Congress under the leadership of the Indian Liberals from 1885-1905 fought for administrative reforms such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, the right of the Indians to be admitted to public services on equal terms and subsequently for the Indianization of Services, for the rescinding of the Arms Act, against the economic drain which engendered poverty of the Indian people, and heavy military expenditure In 1892, the Congress passed the Resolution of Pandit Malaviya asking the government to help the resuscitation of declining handicraft industries. The Liberals stood also for Swadeshi which was adopted at the Congress session at Calcutta in 1906 as a method to accelerate the industrial development of India They also fought against the anti-Indian legislation in countries like the Transvaal, the Free State and the Cape Colony, in 1895.

The Liberals stood for representative institutions and the elective principle They demanded legislatures by the people and controlling the executives

Unfulfilled Demands

The Liberals, through the Indian National Congress and by methods of constitutional agitation, reinforced with highly emotional appeals to the democratic conscience and traditions of the British people, endeavoured to secure from the British government the fulfilment of demands such as administrative reforms, representative institutions, the stoppage of economic drain, popular and technical education, protection for Indian industries, and repeal of repressive Acts.

However, even as late as 1918, most of the important demands made by the Congress at its different sessions and embodied in various resolutions remained unsatisfied. Among the demands (embodied in various Congress Resolutions) which remained unfulfilled even as late as 1918, were those of the abolition of the India Council and simultaneous examinations for the I C S (1885); separation of judicial from executive function (1886), amendment of the Arms Acts and Rules (1887); technical and industrial development (1888), reform of land revenue policy (1889) and that of Currency

(1892); abolition of forced labour (1893), repeal of cotton excise duty (1893); improvement of the conditions of Indians in Colonies (1894); repeal of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 respectively as well as that of the Sedition Act (1897); repeal of the Indian Universities Act and Official Secrets Act (1903), advance in local self-government (1905), repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment and Newspapers Acts (1908), free and compulsory primary education (1908); repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act (1910); and free and compulsory primary education embodied in Gokhale's Bill (1910).[33]

In spite of its loyalist character, the Indian National Congress incurred the displeasure of the government soon after its establishment Annie Besant refers to the instance of a person 'who was called on to give a security of Rs 20,000 to keep the peace' for attending the Congress session in 1887 'in defiance of his district officer'[34] A circular stated that 'the presence of government officials, even as visitors, at such meetings is not advisable and their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is also prohibited'[35]

Thus the government viewed with disfavour even the constitutional agitation organized by the Congress for such mild demands as administrative reforms, the freedom of the press, the stoppage of economic drain, and others

The government enacted Section 124(A) and 153(A) in 1897 to combat the Congress activities Secret Press Committees were established in 1898 restricting the freedom of the press Lord Curzon wrote in 1900 to the Secretary of State. 'The Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise'[36]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the government added to its armoury a number of weapons such as the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1908), the Newspapers Act (1908); the Indian Press Act (1910); and the Seditious Meetings Act (1910) This led to a serious curtailment of civil liberties such as freedom of the press, platform, and assembly.

Growing Disillusionment

The non-fulfilment of the most important of their demands, even within the system of British rule, and repression slowly

brought about moods of disillusionment among the Indian Liberals regarding the hope of the co-operation of the British Democracy in introducing representative institutions in India and in accomplishing social, educational, and economic advance of the Indian people Surendranath Bannerjee remarked that 'the history of the Civil Services is one unbroken record of broken promises'[37] Pandit Dhar, in his presidential address to the Congress in 1911, remarked. 'The root cause of most of our misfortunes which, if not corrected, forebodes serious disasters in the future, is the growth of an unsympathetic and illiberal spirit in the bureaucracy towards the new-born hopes and ideals of the Indian people'.[38] Bhupendranath Basu, the president of the Congress in 1914 said 'The government of the country was still vested in a foreign civil service. All the great departments of the state are under their control They could be more than human if they did not desire to remain as they are'[39]

With the steady disintegration of their faith in the British government, especially after the experience of Lord Curzon's regime, and due to the pressure of the militant nationalist group which had emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and was gathering strength in the first years of the twentieth century, the Indian Liberals expanded their political programme from that of the demand for mere administrative reform to that of the demand for self-government In 1906, the Calcutta Congress presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji adopted the new programme of Swaraj or self-government ('the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies') The Calcutta Congress, further, adopted the programme of the boycott movement, Swadeshi, and national education, which the Liberals also endorsed

The Indian Liberals, though they changed their political aim from mere administrative reform to self-government, did not adopt extra-parliamentary forms of struggle This was due to their impregnable faith in the efficacy of the methods of constitutional agitation Dadabhai even in 1905 had implicit faith in this weapon. 'What is wanted for us is to learn the lesson from the English themselves—to agitate most largely and most perseveringly by petitions, demonstrations and meetings, all quite peacefully but enthusiastically conducted'[40]

As a result of the spread of political disillusionment

regarding the principles and methods of the Liberals among the ranks of the Congress, a new group of militant nationalists having a different political ideology and conception of struggle emerged and crystallized within the Congress This group, known as the Extremists, began to grow rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century due to a number of reasons.

A disastrous famine swept over the country at the close of the century resulting in great economic distress India was also visited by bubonic plague of a virulent type which took a heavy toll of life These events undermined the British rule in the eyes of the people.

Political discontent among the people was further accentuated by the high-handed measures of Lord Curzon during his career as Viceroy. 'His curtailment of the powers of the Calcutta Corporation, his Official Secrets Act, his officialization of the Universities which made education costly . his Tibetan Expedition . . and finally his Partition of Bengal, broke the back of loyal India and roused a new spirit in the nation Even more galling to our sense of self-respect than his speech in Calcutta regarding our untruthfulness, was his sweeping charge that we Indians were, by our environment, our heritage and our upbringing, "unequal to the responsibilities of high office under British Rule" '[41]

Unemployment among educated youths had considerably increased in the beginning of the twentieth century, especially in Bengal Doctrines such as that of slow and orderly progress accomplished with the aid of the British government and methods such as mere petitions and speeches which, by experience, were found ineffectual, made these youths disorient from the Liberal school and rally round the new school of which Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo and Barindra Ghose, and Lala Lajpat Rai, were the outstanding leaders. In fact, the social support to the new nationalism came from the middle classes The social basis of the Indian national movement, which was hitherto restricted to the upper class intellectuals and sections of the commercial bourgeoisie, was extended to the lower middle classes from 1905 onwards

There were other factors which gave impetus to the growth of militant nationalism in India The defeat of Czarism by Japan in 1905 and that of Italy at Adowa exploded the belief in the invincibility of the white race. The Indians

began to shed their inferiority complex and feel confident of removing the British rule.

Emergence of Militant Nationalist Leadership

Refusal to meet the political and economic demands by the government and its repressive measures against the growing national movement shook the faith of an increasing number of Indians in the ideology and technique of Liberal nationalism They began to rally round the group of militant nationalists (the Extremists), whose ideology and methods we will now briefly describe.

The militant nationalists drew inspiration from the India's past, invoked the great episodes in the history of the Indian people, and tried to infuse national pride and self-respect among them They criticized the idealizing of the western and specially British culture by the Liberals as cultural capitulation to the British rulers The militant nationalists asserted that this would only engender an inferiority complex among the Indians and suppress their national pride and self-confidence so vital to the struggle for freedom

The militant nationalists revived the memories of the Vedic past of the Hindus, the great phase of the reigns of Ashoka and Chandragupta, the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap and Shivaji, the epic patriotism of Laxmibai, the Queen of Jhansi and leader of the National Revolt of 1857

The philosophers of militant nationalism believed in the special genius of India. They propounded that the Indian people were endowed with a special spiritual consciousness. 'The Hindus constitute a distinct people The regulative idea in the evolution of Hindu character, the idea which has given a peculiar shape and colouring to the entire history of the race, is their innate consciousness of the spiritual and the eternal '[42]

The Bengal school of militant nationalism led by Pal and Aurobindo Ghose was influenced by the neo-Vedantic movement of Swami Vivekanand 'Neo-Vedantism, which forms the very soul and essence of what may be called Neo-Hinduism, has been seeking to realize the old spiritual ideals of the race . . . by the idealization and the spiritualization of the concrete contents and actual relations of Life. It demands, con-

sequently, a social, an economic, and a political reconstruction . . The spiritual note of the present nationalist movement is entirely derived from this Vedantic thought'[43]

Thus the nationalist movement, aiming at political freedom from the British rule and at the establishment of an Indian society and state on a democratic basis and on the basis also of the modern capitalist economy, became a function of an all-embracing religious movement Nationalism was expressed in religious terms and clothed in religio-mystical form.

The Maharashtra school of new nationalism led by Tilak, while resuscitating the memory of the cultural past of India and castigating the Liberals for what it considered their cultural capitulation to the west, did not clothe the movement for Swaraj in any mystical religious garb. To rouse the population of Maharashtra to acts of heroism and self-sacrifice, Tilak revived the memory of Shivaji's struggle against the Mogul Empire for the liberation of Maharashtra He even revived and utilized Ganapati festivals for political propaganda To counteract the inertia and passivity of the people, he, further, declared action as the *raison d'etre* of the Bhagawat Gita However, the new nationalism in Maharashtra was not dressed in a religio-mystical philosophical garb as in Bengal

The militant nationalists or the Extremists criticized the Liberals for looking to Britain for the political salvation of India. The Extremists declared that real interests and not abstract principles determined political practice. They argued that Britain could not permit the free, unfettered, development of the Indian industries, a condition for making India prosperous, since it would militate against the British industries If the British government Indianized the Services, it would mean material loss to hundreds of Englishmen. The nationalist movement was itself the product of the conflict of interests of Britain on the one hand and of India on the other. Mere arguments and appeals to the democratic conscience and traditions of the British could not remove the fact of this conflict of interests Lajpat Rai remarked, 'Prayers to Almighty God may be useful in intensifying your desire for political liberty and political privileges Prayers to the ruling nation may be useful to you in proving the *uselessness* of appealing

to the higher sense of man in matters political where the interests of one nation clash with those of another'[44] Tilak aptly defined the basic difference between the two groups thus: 'Political rights will have to be fought for The Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion We think that they can only be got by strong pressure'[45]

The militant nationalists infused national consciousness among the Indian people They declared the methods of arguments and appeals as futile and gave programmes of action such as the Boycott in which the mass of the people could participate and the pressure of which could be felt by the British ruling nation Regarding the efficacy of the Boycott of British goods, Lala Lajpat Rai said, 'The logic of losing business is more likely to impress this nation of shopkeepers than any argument based on the ethics of justice'[46]

Since the militant nationalists considered the interests of Britain and of India antagonistic rather than allied, they did not aim at mere administrative reform or the Indianization of Services, but declared that self-government or political power alone could help to accomplish basic, social, economic, and cultural progress In other words, they wanted to end and not to mend the system The non-fulfilment of their hopes in the British government had prompted even the Liberals in 1906 to support the demand for self-government.

Regarding constitutional agitation, the Extremists declared that it had not much usefulness in a country ruled autocratically by a foreign nation The Indian Constitution, they argued, was the creation of the Act of British Parliament which expressed the sovereign will of the British people. It was not the creation of the Indian people As such, the Indian government based on this Constitution was responsible to the British Parliament and not to the Indian people Constitutional agitation could be effective only in countries like England where the people elected their Parliament and, through it, controlled the government

"Swadeshi and Boycott"

The militant nationalists ardently believed in Swadeshi and zealously propagated it among the people Regarding Swadeshi, Lajpat Rai said, 'I regard it as the salvation of my

country The Swadeshi movement ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting and last, not least, manly The Swadeshi movement ought to teach us how to organize our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents, to the greatest good of all Indians, irrespective of creed, colour or caste It ought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding In my opinion, Swadeshi ought to be the common religion of the United India '[47]

Swadeshi was, according to the new nationalists, a weapon forged by the people to achieve the industrial and general economic regeneration and advance for India Its implementing demanded great sacrifice especially, as Tilak remarked, from the middle classes who were the greatest consumers of foreign goods Tilak said that 'Self-help, determination, and sacrifice are needed' to fulfil the Swadeshi programme.

The Boycott movement conceived and organized by the militant nationalists was, on the other hand, openly and aggressively anti-British It had a comprehensive programme and included not only the exclusion of British goods but also such items as the renunciation of titles and government posts and the boycott of councils and schools The protagonists of the Boycott movement used it as a weapon to compel the government to rescind the Partition of Bengal and stop repression

Lala Lajpat Rai explained the significance of the Boycott movement thus 'The meaning of the boycott is this . The primary thing is prestige of the government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige The illusory thing they call prestige is more powerful and potent than authority itself and we propose to do this by means of boycott . We desire to turn our faces away from the Government House and turn them to the huts of the people We desire to stop our mouth so far as appeal to the government is concerned and open our mouth with a new appeal to the masses of our people. This is the psychology, this is the ethics, this is the spiritual significance of the boycott movement '[48] The Boycott was thus primarily meant as a means to rouse among the people a militant determination to win Swaraj

Jawaharlal Nehru on Militant Nationalism

The founders of the new nationalism were subsequently criticized for basing the movement of Swaraj on the Hindu religion and traditions of the Hindu history. The critics averred that this not only introduced religious obscurantism and mysticism in politics but also led to estrange the Muslims who comprised about a third of the Indian population. It also weakened the secular character of the political movement

> The insistence on orthodox religion as the heart of the national movement, and the proclamation of the supposed spiritual superiority of the ancient Hindu civilization to modern "Western" civilization (what modern psychologists would no doubt term a compensatory delusion), inevitably retarded and weakened the real advance of the national movement and of political consciousness, while the emphasis on Hinduism must bear a share of the responsibility for the alienation of wide sections of Moslem opinion from the national movement.'[49]

The Left nationalism of Bengal, under the leadership of B. C. Pal and Aurobindo Ghose, was based on the religious mysticism of Hinduism. Because of this, many nationalists, who would otherwise have supported it, disoriented from it and even remained with the Liberals. Jawaharlal Nehru advanced this as one of the main reasons why Pandit Motilal Nehru abstained from the nationalist movement in 1907. 'And then the background of these movements was a religious nationalism which was alien to his nature. He did not look back to a revival in India of ancient times. Socially speaking, the revival of Indian nationalism in 1907 was definitely reactionary.'[50]

A nationalist movement ought to be based on a programme of the secular interests of the people. Then alone, the entire nation, irrespective of caste or community, could be brought within its orbit. 'The political, social, and economic programme of the national movement, should and can unite the masses of the Indian people above, across and apart, from religious affiliations. Such a strengthened, secularized, modernized, united democratic movement, can be the strongest force at the present stage to counter communal agitation.'[51]

One of the reasons why the Muslims did not join the nationalist movement in the year 1905 and the following period

was, perhaps, because Indian nationalism was openly based by its leaders on the Hindu ideology. Pal, Aurobindo, and other leaders 'sought to build on a basis of Hindu religion for their agitation and to identify the national awakening with a revival of Hinduism By this act they cut off the Moslem masses from the national movement and opened the way to the Government's astute counter-move with the formation of the Moslem League in 1906.'[52]

The militant nationalists were distinguished for the great qualities of immense self-sacrifice and suffering for the cause of freedom. They constituted the first batch of martyrs in the nationalist movement Their very programme brought them into conflict with the government. They experienced imprisonment and deportations and suffered privations Their unflinching adherence to their ideal and programme made them idols of the people and household names in the country. Thousands of youths drew inspiration from them and became steadfast fighters in the struggle for Swaraj. Tilak, Pal, Aurobindo and Barindra Ghose, and Lala Lajpat Rai, were the outstanding leaders of the new nationalism, all of whom lived lives consecrated to the cause of Swaraj Tilak, who suffered most, became the very symbol of political suffering for the ideal of freedom.

The new nationalism gave militancy and independence to the Indian nationalist movement It gave it a proud ego and instilled self-reliance into it It taught the Indian people that Swaraj could not be achieved without suffering. It further extended the movement to the lower middle classes and even, to some extent, to a section of the masses. The general strike of the Bombay textile workers as a protest against the arrest of Tilak in 1908 was 'the first political action of the Indian working class' and was hailed by Lenin

Militant Nationalists, Their Chief Activities

We will now briefly review the most important of the activities of the new nationalist group

Tilak, recognized as the most outstanding among the leaders of the new group due to his powerful intellect, robust political realism, indomitable will and self-sacrifice, was deeply influenced in his early days by such stalwart nationalists as

Chiplunkar and Agarkar. He received his baptism in political suffering in 1882 when along with Agarkar, he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for publishing objectionable articles.

Tilak was associated with the New English School and the Fergusson College, the two educational institutions the members of which were a group of intellectuals animated with deep patriotism and self-sacrificing spirit In 1880, he started the *Kesari* (a Marathi weekly) and the *Maratha* (an English weekly) which became powerful organs to spread the principles and policies of the new nationalism

Tilak resuscitated the Ganapati celebrations in 1893 These celebrations served as a cover for organizing extensive nationalist agitation. 'Lectures, processions, singing parties, are the invariable accompaniments of the festival and they not only afford an outlet to the religious zeal of the people but help in fostering the national sentiment also, and creating interest in the outstanding questions of the day'[53]

Tilak, further, revived the Shivaji festival in 1895 The political motif of this revival was to revive in the people the memory of Shivaji, the liberator of Maharashtra from the domination of the Moguls, and thereby kindle in them a heroic determination to achieve freedom from the British rule

Tilak and his compatriots launched a campaign of relief during the great famine which broke out at the end of the nineteenth century Tilak, further, advised the people, though in guarded language, to pay government dues only if it was economically possible for them to do so 'Will you when the Queen desires that none should die, when the Governor declares that all should live . will you kill yourself by timidity and starvation? If you have money to pay Government dues, pay them by all means But if you have not, will you sell your things away only to avoid the supposed wrath of the subordinate Government officers? Can you not be bold even when in the grip of death?'[54]

India was visited by bubonic plague during this period The methods adopted by the government to combat it kindled considerable resentment among the people Tilak severely criticized the official measures in *Kesari* Soon after, Rand, the health officer and Lt Ayerst were shot by terrorists The Chaphekar brothers who were arrested, in this connection,

were tried and sentenced to death The government thought that the propaganda of Tilak created an atmosphere conducive to terrorist activity He was arrested in 1895, on a charge of sedition and after a trial, sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

It was when Tilak was in prison that the government added Section 124 (A) and 153 (A) to the Indian Penal Code

The opening years of the twentieth century were stormy Political discontent had grown among the people due to the inability of the government to organize effective relief during the period of plague and famine The non-fulfilment of the Congress demands was steadily engendering scepticism and even disbelief in the mind of the politically conscious intellectuals in the methods and programme of the Liberals The educated Indians were also extensively studying the European history, including the history of the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, the national revolutionary struggles of the Italian people against the Austrian domination, and the Irish struggle for freedom They were reading the works of Thomas Paine, Mazzini, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others They were building a new political outlook and increasingly gravitating on the one hand to the school of new nationalist thought and on the other to conspiratorial terrorism

The political measures during Lord Curzon's rule fanned into flame the gathering discontent of the people The Partition of Bengal transformed it into a conflagration

The Indian politicians of almost all political hues interpreted the Calcutta Corporation Act as an attempt by Lord Curzon to strike at the local self-government of the people, the Indian Universities' Act as an endeavour to limit higher education, and the Partition of Bengal as a measure to disrupt the political unity of the Bengali people. The Hon Mr Chaudhari commented that Partition would 'drive a wedge between Hindu and Mahomedan Lord Curzon apparently took the Vambery view that India could only be held on the basis of racial animosity That was the reason for the Partition of Bengal to set up in Dacca a rival Mahomedan centre to the Hindu centre of Calcutta '[55]

The Partition was universally resented It brought about united opposition of all political groups Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, a Judge, and the Maharajas of

Mymensingh and Cosimbazar, joined in the protest

Slogans of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott, and National education, emerged during the anti-Partition campaign. Tilak carried on a vigorous propaganda of this programme and recommended its adoption at the session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1906. It was adopted, being supported by Dadabhai Naoroji and other Liberal leaders. Tilak became a most popular all-India leader of the nationalist movement from that year.

All nationalist leaders, Tilak, Pal, Aurobindo, Barindra, Lajpat Rai, and others, organized a country-wide campaign through the press and the platform to popularize the boycott. The campaign was successful and seriously affected the demand of British goods and gave a fillip to the Indian industries. *The Englishman*, an Anglo-Indian paper of Calcutta, wrote, 'It is absolutely true that Calcutta warehouses are full of fabrics that cannot be sold Many prominent Marwari firms have been absolutely ruined, and a number of the biggest European import houses have had either to close down their piecegoods branch, or to put up with a very small business —In boycott, the enemies of the Raj have found a most effective weapon for injuring British interests in the country . . .'[56]

The movement spread rapidly. The British trade was appreciably curtailed. Mass meetings, demonstrations, and hartals took place. *Kesari* and *Maratha* of Tilak in Bombay and *Samdhya, Bande Mataram,* and *Yugantar* in Bengal, educated the people in the new outlook and programme.

The government launched repression and increasingly intensified it. The Bengal Provincial Conference was dispersed by an executive order. Arrests and imprisonments of leaders, editors, propagandists and organizers of the movement took place

Terrorist groups which sprang up mainly in Bengal, Maharashtra, and the Punjab, also became active. Political dacoities and assassinations of officials took place A brief history of the terrorist and revolutionary movements during these years is narrated later on

Congress Split in 1907

In 1907 the split in the Congress between the Liberals and

the Left nationalists took place. The cleavage was inevitable since the Liberals, though steadily disillusioned about the British government, did not accept the ideology and methods of the new nationalists.

After a stormy session for two days, the Surat Congress, 1907, broke up in uproar. The Liberals immediately organized a convention and fixed the following constitution:

'The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire It seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration'

The Extremists considered the adoption of this constitution by the Liberals as an attempt to keep them out of the Congress.

The government repression increased after 1907. It passed the Seditious Meetings Act in 1907 and the Indian Press Act in 1910.

In Bengal, *Bande Mataram, Yugantar,* and a number of other papers were suppressed by the government. Outstanding leaders of the movement such as Mitra, A. K. Dutt, S. Chakrawarti, and P. B. Das, were deported. Aurobindo Ghose was arrested in 1908 on a charge of being connected with a revolutionary conspiracy, but, due to lack of evidence, was acquitted. Before he could be arrested on a fresh charge, he left British India and settled in Pondicherry.

In 1908, Tilak, the indomitable leader of the new nationalism and the author of the cry 'Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it', was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for an article published in his paper and sent to Mandalay.

In the course of his speech in the court, Tilak said, 'There are higher Powers that rule the destinies of things and it may be the will of Providence, that the cause which I represent should prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free'[57]

In Mandalay jail, Tilak wrote *The Arctic Home of the Vedas and Gita Rahasya* The books revealed his deep philosophical and historical interests and acumen

In the Punjab, agrarian riots took place at Lahore, Lyallpur, and Rawalpindi, as a result of the Canal Colony Bill and

other grievances. Lajpat Rai and Ajitsingh were deported from the province

Morley-Minto Reforms and After

Since, in spite of repression, the movement was gathering strength, the British government thought it politically expedient to conciliate the nationalists by a grant of political reforms It introduced the Morley-Minto Reforms, providing for a minority of elected members to the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils The Councils were only advisory bodies without any decisive final powers.

While the Extremist section declared the Reforms unsatisfactory, the Moderates hailed them The Reforms had the effect of rehabilitating to some extent the Moderates' faith in the British intentions and pledges which had begun to shake due to the recent measures of the British government The abolition of the Partition of Bengal in 1911 further strengthened that faith

The First World War broke out in 1914

The Secretary of State announced in the House of Commons that 'the goal of the British policy is progressive realization of responsible government' in India.

To get increased support of the Indian bourgeoisie to the war the government granted 3½ per cent import duty on cotton in 1916 which helped the growth of the Indian textile industries

These measures, however, failed to conciliate the Left nationalist leaders who continued their agitation for Swaraj during the war. After emerging from prison in 1914, Tilak organized a campaign of Home Rule for India and founded the Home Rule League in Poona in 1916 Annie Besant started her All-India Home Rule League in Madras six months later.

The two wings of the Congress, the Moderates and the Extremists, united at the Lucknow Congress in 1916. Unity, however, proved ephemeral

Another significant event was the alliance of the Congress and the Muslim League accomplished in 1916, known as the Lucknow Pact or the Congress-League Scheme Britain was at war against Turkey, a Muslim state, and this had aroused strong Muslim sentiment against Britain. The agreed scheme

included reforms such as elected majorities in the councils, increased powers of the councils, and half the members of the Viceroy's Executive to be the Indians

The political alliance of the Muslim League and the Congress was a significant event The League was led by the Rajah of Muhammadabad, Mazar-Ul-Haq, A Rasul, and Jinnah.

The repression of the government was directed against the Home Rule movement Heavy security was demanded from Besant's *New India* which was forfeited In 1917, she was interned in Ootacamund. Her internment and that of other leaders like Wadia and Arundale made the Home Rule League popular and Jinnah joined it soon after.

Orders of externment were issued from the Punjab and Delhi against Tilak and Pal in 1917

In 1918, the Liberals left the Congress and founded the Liberal Federation It was due to the difference of opinion regarding the attitude to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which had been announced The Liberals stood for working the Constitution under the new Reforms while the Congress at its 1918 session decided to boycott it.

Rise of Terrorist and Revolutionary Movements

Before proceeding to survey the main events of the next phases of the nationalist movement, it is necessary to describe briefly the terrorist and revolutionary movements which broke out in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The disillusionment about the efficacy of the programme and methods of the Liberals together with the study of the revolutionary movements of European nations for freedom and the methods of conspiratorial terrorism adopted by the Russian Nihilists and other European underground groups, influenced a section of the Indians to build up and operate like organizations and methods in India.

The political measures of the government during Curzon's rule and subsequent repression directed against the nationalist movement which drove even the Liberals to support the militant Boycott movement, exasperated this section into adopting the methods of political terrorism

Their programme was comprised of political assassination

generally of unpopular officials, hoping thereby to strike terror in the bureaucracy and break its will. They also thought that a campaign of political assassination, when carried out on a large scale, would even create a favourable atmosphere for armed insurrection.

Another item in their programme was to organize armed dacoities with a view to secure money from wealthy Indians and the government, which they could use for their work such as the establishment and operation of secret groups, laboratories to make bombs, factories to forge arms

There sprang up also revolutionary groups which had a more extensive programme such as the fomenting of mutinies in the army and agrarian riots.

The main centres of these revolutionary and terrorist activities were Bengal, the Punjab, and Maharashtra. In Bengal there had developed considerable unemployment among the educated youth This factor together with the emotional temperament of the Bengalis might explain why Bengal was the storm-centre of terrorism

Revolutionaries and terrorists had established centres outside India also, in London, Paris, and New York.

We will now briefly narrate only the most important episodes and events connected with these movements [58]

The assassination of Rand and Ayerst in Poona in 1897 has already been referred to.

Shyamji Krishnavarma established the Indian Home Rule Society in London in 1905 and India House at Highgate soon after Both were revolutionary centres which prepared and smuggled revolutionary literature and arms into India. One of the pamphlets smuggled into India was *Bande-Mataram* which extolled the murder of Curzon Wyllie, an official of the India Office, by Dhingra, a member of India House, in 1909 and explained the role of political terrorism thus 'Terrorize the officials, English and Indian, and the collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not very far . . This campaign of separate assassination is the best conceivable method of paralysing the bureaucracy and of arousing the people '[59]

V D Savarkar was a close collaborator of Krishnavarma in England

G D Savarkar, a brother of V. D. Savarkar who was in India, was sentenced to transportation for life for revolution-

ary activity. In the same year, Jackson, who had convicted Savarkar, was shot at Nasik In the Nasik Conspiracy case in this connection, Kanhere was sentenced to death and twenty-seven other persons imprisoned In 1909, an attempt on the life of Lord Minto, then the Viceroy, was organized

In Bengal, the movement assumed serious dimensions. According to the Rowlatt Report, Anusilan Samiti, with its two main centres at Calcutta and Dacca and numerous nuclei throughout the province, was the rallying point of the terrorists. The Samiti distributed revolutionary literature and built underground groups

Terrorist organizations were very active during the post-Partition years in Bengal A number of police officials, magistrates, approvers, and sometimes even public prosecutors, lost their lives at the hands of the terrorists whose principal weapons were the bomb and the pistol In the Alipore Conspiracy case, Gosain, an approver, as well as the public prosecutor and the superintendent of police associated with the case, were subsequently killed by the terrorists. There were a number of such conspiracy cases in the province, indicating thereby the great extent of the activity of revolutionary groups.

Some of the nationalist leaders like Aurobindo and Barindra Ghose were suspected of connection with the terrorist and revolutionary movements. Aurobindo was arrested in 1908 on a charge of conspiracy but was acquitted due to lack of evidence He subsequently left the British territory and lived in Pondicherry

Terrorism continued in Bengal even after the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms and the abolition of the Partition in 1911

In the Punjab, revolutionary groups were formed in 1907. A good number of revolutionaries belonged to the Arya Samaj. A group of Muslims joined the movement after 1912.

Har Dayal, who had returned from Europe to India in 1910, organized revolutionary groups in the Punjab He was mainly assisted in this work by Rash Behari and Amirchand. In 1911, Amirchand and others were arrested, tried, and hanged in connection with a bomb explosion in Lahore.

An attempt to assassinate Lord Hardinge, then the Viceroy, was made at Delhi

After his arrival in America in 1911, Har Dayal built up revolutionary organizations there and launched a newspaper, *Ghadr* (Mutiny) in 1913 in San Francisco The United States government arrested him in 1914 He was released on bail when, with Barkatulla, he escaped to Switzerland After his departure, Ramchandra became the leader of the Ghadr movement.

The Ghadr group was agitating among the Indians in America against the immigration laws In 1914, the 'Kamagata Maru', with a number of Indian passengers mainly Sikhs and Muslims, left Hongkong for Vancouver. When the ship reached Vancouver, the Canadian government refused permission to the passengers to land on the ground that they did not satisfy the conditions prescribed by the immigration laws of Canada. The ship was forcibly sent out of the harbour Instead of Hongkong, the ship was taken to Calcutta where the government had kept a train ready to remove them directly after their landing to the Punjab. About three hundred Sikhs refused to proceed to the Punjab In the police firing that followed eighteen were killed. Subsequently a number of the Sikhs were imprisoned. Those who returned to the Punjab did so in a spirit of resentment and, soon after, built revolutionary centres and organized revolutionary agitation among the people.

These revolutionary groups organized extensive revolutionary activities in the Punjab and even other provinces during 1914 and 1915 These included armed dacoities, killing of police officials and revolutionary propaganda among army units in the Punjab and military centres like Meerut and Cawnpore

The government passed the Defence of India Act in 1915 which armed the authorities with powers to intern people The government also appointed Special Tribunals which subsequently tried and sentenced twenty people to death, transported fifty-eight for life, and imprisoned fifty-eight for short terms.[60]

The revolutionary movement declined thereafter

The Ghadr leaders had established a political liaison with the German consuls at New York and Shanghai They succeeded in fomenting mutinies of a Baluch regiment in Rangoon and the 5th Light Infantry stationed at Singapore in 1915, which were put down.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published in 1918. The Reforms Act based on the Report was passed next year.

The Report introduced the system of 'Dyarchy' under which the subjects dealt by the Provincial Government were divided into two groups, 'transferred' and 'reserved' The former was placed under the control of ministers intended to be responsible to an elected legislature. It included such subjects as local government, public health, education, etc.

The 'reserved' group including such subjects as finance, land revenue, police, and others remained outside the control of the ministers

The main criticism of this aspect of the Reforms was that the subjects of most vital import were kept 'reserved' and even regarding 'transferred' subjects real advance in this sphere needed finance which was outside the control of the ministers.

The Report did not meet the demands of the Congress and the League embodied in the Congress-League Scheme such as the application of the principle of self-determination to India and immediate grant of self-government

The Muslim League rejected the Report and reaffirmed the Congress-League Scheme in 1918.

The Indian National Congress held its session at the end of 1918 when it passed a resolution demanding the recognition of India as 'one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied'

The Delhi Congress also passed a resolution demanding complete responsible government in India It reaffirmed the Congress-League Scheme.

During and at the end of the war, considerable discontent had grown among the Indian people The financial burdens of the war, the rise in prices, and profiteering, led to great economic distress among the mass of the people The end of the war witnessed the outbreak of a virulent influenza epidemic which led to an appalling loss of life.

The post-war revolutions in Germany, Austria and Russia, which led to the overthrow of the powerful Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, and Romanoff dynasties, also had a galvanizing effect on the mind of the peoples of Asiatic countries Widespread

political ferment grew among these peoples including the Indians Further, the Home Rule agitation of Tilak and others had increased the political consciousness of the people The stage was set for a nationalist movement with a mass basis.

Since the Defence of India Act was to lapse after the end of the war, the Government of India brought the Rowlatt Bills in 1919, which gave the executive wide powers such as the power to imprison persons without trial and others The Bills were met with universal opposition of the people. Gandhi threatened satyagraha if the Bills became law The Bills were, in spite of popular opposition, enacted as law in March

On 6 April, the day fixed by the leaders to express popular protest against the new law, there were hartals, demonstrations, and strikes, throughout the country

'One noticeable feature of the general excitement was the unprecedented fraternization between the Hindus and the Moslems. Their union, between the leaders, had now for long been a fixed plan of the nationalist platform In this time of public excitement even the lower classes agreed for once to forget their differences Extraordinary scenes of fraternization occurred Hindus publicly accepted water from the hands of Moslems and **vice versa.** Hindu-Moslem Unity was the watchword of processions indicated both by cries and by banners Hindu leaders had actually been allowed to preach from the pulpit of a mosque' (**India**, 1919)

Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew, two leaders of the Congress in the Punjab, were removed to an unknown place by the authorities at Amritsar This accentuated popular excitement and led to outbreaks of popular violence at Amritsar, Gujaranwalla, and Kasur

There were disturbances in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, and other parts of India. The government's repression in the form of firing and imprisonment intensified

Due to the outbreaks, Gandhi withdrew satyagraha

Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy

On 13 April, the tragedy of Jallianwalla Bagh took place at Amritsar. In the firing by the troops under the order of General Dyer at the unarmed people who had gathered at a peaceful meeting in the Bagh about 400 were killed and 1,200 wounded. This sent a thrill of horror among the people when it became known.

Martial law was promulgated in Lahore, Amritsar, and a number of districts in the Punjab on 15 April. Summary courts and Special Tribunals were appointed Arrests, imprisonment, and executions on a big scale took place. Flogging was adopted as a form of punishment and in one street at Amritsar, the people, who passed through it, were made to crawl.[61]

The Martial Law regime continued till 11 June.

During the period, the Punjab was strictly isolated by a rigid censorship News of the Jallianwalla Bagh reached England after a period of eight months

Under the pressure of public demand, the Hunter Committee was appointed by the Government to inquire into the justification of firing at Jallianwalla Bagh. The Committee published its report in March 1920. The Report declared Dyer's action only as 'a grave error of judgement which exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case' Montagu, the Secretary of State, supported this view and stated that the general was prompted by 'honesty of purpose and unflinching adherence to duty'.

The Report did not satisfy the people who had demanded the punishment of Dyer as well as other officials who had been putting down the movement in the Punjab with arbitrary imprisonments, firings, floggings, and such other methods The Congress had already appointed a separate Committee which in its Report published in March enumerated various repressive actions of the government

The year 1919 was marked by a phenomenal growth of the mass movement. Political demonstrations, hartals, and strikes were growing The nationalist movement was acquiring for the first time a mass basis Political discontent was rising among the people.

The Indian National Congress met at Amritsar at the end of 1919 Tilak stood for a policy of Responsive Co-operation. C. R. Das held the view that the Reforms must be rejected. Gandhi had described his attitude thus: 'The Reforms Act coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score . . . Our duty, therefore, is not to subject the Reforms to carping criticism, but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a success'[62]

The compromise resolution passed at the Amritsar Con-

gress said that "The Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing . . . that this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Pending such introduction, this Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government . . '

The political tension due to the 'unsatisfactory Reforms Act', the enactment of the Rowlatt Act, the Martial Law regime in the Punjab, and the general repressive policy of the government, was further aggravated in 1920 by what is known as the Khilafat question The Indian Muslims were indignant at the terms of the Treaty of Sevres by which Turkey, a Muslim state, was deprived of its homelands such as Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and other Asiatic Zones of the Turkish Empire They argued that their holy places were situated in these territories wherefore they should always be under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey who was also the Khalifa or the religious head of the Muslims all over the world

Gandhi and other Congress leaders supported the Khilafat issue and allied with Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali in organizing a powerful Khilafat agitation in the country.

The terms of the Treaty of Sevres were published in May 1920. At a conference of various parties held at Allahabad in June, a committee comprised of Gandhi and prominent Muslim leaders was formed to formulate a programme of action

The Khilafat issue drew the Muslims into the orbit of the national movement 'The "Triveni" of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, and the invisible flow of inadequate Reforms enriched both in volume and content the stream of national discontent Everything was ripe for Non-Co-operation '[63]

Tilak was not enthusiastic about the campaign of non-violent non-co-operation He, however, did not oppose or 'hinder' it [64]

Tilak died on 1 August 1920

Epoch of Gandhi and Gandhism

The Non-Co-operation movement signalised the beginning of the next phase of the Indian nationalist movement. Gandhi

was the outstanding leader and Gandhism the ruling ideology of the movement during this phase

Gandhi dominated the political scene like a titan. His contribution to the nationalist movement was unique.

He was the first national leader who recognized the role of the masses and mass action in the struggle for national liberation in contrast to earlier leaders, who did not comprehend their decisive significance for making that struggle more effective.

Gandhi evolved a programme of struggle which would mobilize the masses in the nationalist movement and such that various sections of the people—workers, peasants, capitalists, students, lawyers and other professional classes, above all women—could actively participate in it. He, thereby, made, for the first time, the Indian nationalist movement a multi-class and mass nationalist movement in spite of its limitations due to his ideology Under his leadership, the Indian people became heroic, patriotic and intrepid fighters for national emancipation They in the mass courted jails and bravely faced firings and brutal lathi charges of the imperialist police and military. Gandhi, in spite of his compromising stand, instilled into them undying hatred for the "Satanic" British Government and an unquenchable thirst for Swaraj.

He provided the peasantry with the programme of the non-payment of land tax to the government thereby threatening to paralyse the financial basis of the latter He exhorted the students to boycott the educational institutions, the source of supply of its administrative personnel He called on the lawyers to desert the courts so that the judicial machinery of the state would be deadlocked He called on the women to picket liquor and foreign cloth shops which they did in their thousands and, in the process, courted imprisonment He asked the people as a whole to deliberately infringe the "lawless laws" framed by the government. Millions of Indians at his call marched in demonstrations and assembled at illegal rallies under the hailstorm of bullets and lathi charges

It was a stirring spectacle, that of tens of thousands of women, who for centuries were chained to the narrow domestic life and whom an authoritarian social system had assigned the position of helots at home, stepping out in the streets and marching with their male fellow-patriots in illegal political

demonstrations.

While taking over and utilizing such methods as the boycott and swadeshi from the previous phase, Gandhi evolved new and far more effective techniques of struggle to exert pressure on the British government Satyagraha, Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience, both individual and on a mass scale, non-payment of taxes, open defiance of laws, deliberate courting of jails, mass demonstrations and marches, and hunger strikes—these were the principal weapons he added to the armoury of the nationalist struggle.

Gandhi was not only a colossus in the field of politics, but was also an outstanding social reformer He was permeated with profound humanism and was a crusader against injustices in all spheres of social relations. He denounced in words of blazing moral indignation, the barbarous institution of untouchability, the agelong crime of the Hindu society against its most oppressed section He passionately struggled for the liquidation of this most inhuman institution and made it even an integral part of his political programme

He addressed powerful ethical appeals to the higher classes of the Hindus and endeavoured to awaken their conscience against this infamy of ages

Gandhi was a classical type of a nationalist and therefore an anti-communalist **par excellence.** He considered both Muslim and Hindu communalisms as anti-national and anti-human and combated both these with all his indefatigable energy He finally even "offered his life-blood as living oblation to the liquidation of communalism in the social relations of the Indian people."

Gandhi's interests were encyclopaedic and extended to all aspects of the life of the Indian nation. They embraced even language and literature. He enriched Gujarati, his own vernacular, popularized Hindi and left a powerful impress on literatures in various languages in the country.

With a view to implement this many-sided national programme, Gandhi himself evolved and inspired others to evolve numerous centres to train cadres of self-sacrificing professional workers. He also established a network of institutions, social, political, economic and educational, where those workers would carry out various programmes elaborated by him on the basis of the principles of what is popularly known as Gandhism.

N.C.O. Movement

The Calcutta session of the Congress held in September 1920 passed a resolution adopting the programme of non-violent non-co-operation. Gandhi was entrusted with the leadership of the campaign because of his past experience of such struggles. The campaign was to be maintained till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were redressed and Swaraj established.

Gandhi based the political Satyagraha movement on moral and spiritual principles. He thus injected religion into politics which became thereby mystified. The criterion he adopted for determining the principles and programmes of a political movement was that of the strengthening of the spiritual stamina of the Indian people. He frequently talked of 'Soul Force', abstract 'Truth' (without defining what constitutes Truth), and the ethical conversion of the political opponent. When political programmes, instead of being based on a scientific analysis of objective forces, are deduced from abstract and even nebulous religious principles, they tend to lose charity of purpose, definiteness of objective, and rationality of methods

The people responded to the call of the Congress A big majority of voters refused to cast their vote in the elections held in 1920 Educational institutions were seriously affected by the voluntary withdrawal of the students. The boycott of law courts, however, did not meet with any tangible success.

It was during this period that educational institutions on independent national lines such as the National Muslim University of Aligarh, the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, the Bengal National University, the Kashi Vidyapith and the Bihar Vidyapith were organized

The Congress held its ordinary session at Nagpur in December 1920. The programme was almost unanimously adopted It substituted for the former aim of self-government within the Empire to be attained by constitutional means the new objective of 'the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.'

The Non-Co-operation Movement, if ineffective, was to be followed up by mass Civil Disobedience. Regarding the latter, however, there was no clear plan or even definite objective

'But mass disobedience was the thing that was luring the people

What was it, what would it be? Gandhi himself never defined it, never elaborated it, never visualized it, even to himself. It must unfold itself to a discerning vision, to a pure heart, from step to step . .'[65]

In addition to the Non-Co-operation Movement led by the Congress, there broke out other struggles in the country such as the strike of workers of the Assam-Bengal Railway, the no-tax campaign of the peasants in the Midnapore district, the Moplah rebellion in Malabar, and the struggle of the Akalis against their Mahants in the Punjab.

On 5 November 1921, the Working Committee and the all-India Congress Committee met at Delhi and decided to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement It empowered every Provincial Committee to initiate on its own responsibility Civil Disobedience including the non-payment of taxes according to methods which it thought appropriate for the province A set of conditions, however, were laid down, the fulfilment of which would make a person eligible for participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement

It was during this period that the British government arranged the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. The Congress called upon the people to boycott the visit The arrival of the Prince on 17 November was marked by a country-wide hartal and demonstrations. In a number of places, riots broke out In Bombay, the outbreak continued for about four days. There were police firings and the total loss of life amounted to 53 killed and about 400 wounded

Gandhi was alarmed at the outbreak of popular violence He declared that Swaraj stank in his nostrils

It was during this period that the national volunteers movement gathered momentum Congress and Khilafat volunteers picketed foreign cloth shops and organized hartals Even when their organizations were declared illegal, they maintained their activities and were arrested in large numbers

The government had arrested and imprisoned almost all prominent leaders of the movement including C R Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, and the Ali brothers, before the end of the year. Gandhi, alone, remained free

The mass movement of the Indian people for Swaraj led by its bourgeois leadership had reached its climax when the

Indian National Congress held its session at Ahmedabad at the end of the year under the presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan in the absence of C. R Das, the president-elect who was in prison

The main resolution passed at the session said

' this Congress places on record the forced determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation

'This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the Volunteer Organizations

'This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience, whether mass or individual under proper safeguards . . all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever, and to the extent to which, it may be found necessary

' , this Congress hereby appoints Mahatma Gandhi as the sole Executive authority of the Congress.'

At the session, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, an outstanding Muslim leader in the Congress, desired to clarify and fix the political content of the term Swaraj He wanted to interpret Swaraj as 'Complete Independence free from all foreign control' Gandhi, however, opposed the suggestion. He remarked. 'The levity with which the proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me It has grieved me because it shows lack of responsibility '[66]

The Ahmedabad Congress omitted any reference to the non-payment of taxes. Lord Reading interpreted this as a good omen.

'During Christmas week the Congress held its annual meeting at Ahmedabad Gandhi had been deeply impressed with the rioting at Bombay and the rioting had brought home to him the dangers of mass civil disobedience, and the resolutions of the Congress gave evidence of this, . whilst the organization of civil disobedience when fulfilment of the Delhi conditions had taken place was urged in them, they omitted any reference to the non-payment of taxes '[67]

In the middle of January 1922, an All-Parties Conference attended by Jinnah, Jayakar, and others, and presided over by Sir M Visvesvarayya was convened. Gandhi also attended it

and explained the stand of the Congress The conference condemned the repressive policy of the government. It advised the Congress to put off Civil Disobedience during the period of negotiations with the Viceroy. It put forth the proposal of a Round Table Conference with power to solve the problems of the Khilafat the Punjab, and Swaraj.

The Working Committee of the Congress announced on 17 January the putting off of Civil Disobedience till the end of the month

The Viceroy, however, did not accept the suggestions of the All-Parties Conference Gandhi consequently informed the Viceroy on 1 February that he had decided to start Civil Disobedience in the Bardoli district in Gujarat

On 5 February, an outburst of violence took place at Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces. A crowd, mostly composed of peasants, attacked and set fire to a police station leading to the death of twenty-two policemen Gandhi decided to drop the programme of Civil Disobedience He convened a meeting of the Working Committee on 12 February at Bardoli, when a resolution was passed to the effect that due to the 'inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura' the Civil Disobedience programme was suspended. The resolution further said· 'The Working Committee advises Congress workers and organizations to inform the peasants that withholding of rent payment to zemindars is contrary to the Congress resolutions and injurious to the best interests of the country.' It also assured 'the zemindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights, and that even where the ryots have grievances, the Committee desires that redress be sought by mutual consultation and arbitration' revealing thereby the anxiety of Gandhi and other Congress leaders to protect the basic rights of the landlord classes

The Working Committee adopted 'a constructive programme' of items such as the popularization of the charkha, the propaganda of temperance, and the establishment of national educational institutions

The Bardoli decision was intensely disliked by a number of Congress leaders who were in jail 'To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity. The principal lieutenants of the Mahatma, Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal

Nehru and Lala Lajppt Rai, who were all in prison, shared the popular resentment. It was with the Deshbandhu at the time, and I could see that he was beside himself with anger and sorrow'[68]

Pandit Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai wrote to Gandhi from prison disapproving of his decision 'They took Gandhi to task for punishing the whole country for the sins of a place Why should, Panditji asked, a town at the foot of the Himalayas be penalized, if a village at Cape Comorin failed to observe non-violence?'[69]

On 13 March, Gandhi himself was arrested on a charge of sedition He was tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. He was, however, released before the expiry of two years of the period of sentence.

The government's view of the situation in India as expressed by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India in *Telegraphic Correspondence, regarding the Situation in India* 9 February, Cmd 1586, 1922, when the movement was withdrawn, is stated below

'The lower classes in the towns have been seriously affected by the non-co-operation movement In certain areas, the peasantry have been affected, particularly in parts of the Assam Valley, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal As regards the Punjab, the Akali agitation . . has penetrated to the rural Sikhs A large proportion of the Mahomedan population throughout the country are embittered and sullen grave possibilities The Government of India are prepared for disorder of a more formidable nature than has in the past occurred and do not seek to minimize in any way the fact that great anxiety is caused by the situation'

Withdrawal of N C O Movement, Its Results

The Bardoli decision signalized the end of the Non-Co-operation Movement The movement was distinguished from previous movements by its predominantly mass character. With sections of workers and peasants participating in it, the nationalist movement, which was restricted to the upper and middle classes till 1917, got a mass basis, for the first time, during the non-co-operation years The workers and peasants, however, had not still developed distinct class or group consciousness when they could become independent political forces, evolve their own class leadership, programme, and even flag, and join

the national movement They followed the bourgeois leadership of the Congress during the Non-Co-operation Movement. This leadership, as the Bardoli resolution revealed, was closely aligned to the vested interests like the zemindari and was apprehensive of any mass movement which would jeopardize those interests.

Leaders like Lajpat Rai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Subhas Bose, attributed the collapse of the movement, as we saw above, to the faulty strategy of Gandhi

The programme of the movement did not include, except for the item of land tax, distinct economic demands of the masses such as increased wage and social legislation for the workers, and reduction of rent and debt for the agrarian population The leadership did not take note of the fact that the political discontent of the masses had roots in their economic conditions and not in any abstract sentiment of nationalism.

The industrial bourgeoisie, which had gathered economic strength during the years of war as a result of industrial expansion, largely identified itself with and supported the Non-Co-operation Movement. From this time the industrial bourgeoisie exercised considerable and even decisive influence over the policies and programmes of the nationalist movement led by the Congress

The nationalist movement declined after the Bardoli decision. The alliance of the Muslim League and the Congress was dissolved and the Hindu-Muslim unity built during the movement began to disintegrate

Formation of Swaraj Party

The Swaraj Party with the programme of Council Entry was formed in 1923 Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Vithalbhai Patel, who were already released, were the outstanding leaders of this party.

The Swaraj Party formulated as its aim the attainment of Dominion Status within the Empire The party programme guaranteed the preservation of capitalism and landlordism by declaring that 'private and individual property will be recognized and maintained'. It declared that it would save labour from the exploitation of capital and capital from the unjust demands of labour 'On the one hand, we must find out a

way of organization by which we can prevent exploitation of labour by capitalists or landlords, but, on the other hand, we must be on our guard to see that these very organizations may not themselves be the source of oppression by nursing extravagant and unreasonable demands Labour undoubtedly requires protection but so do industrial enterprises'[70] The Swarajists subscribed to the doctrines of private property, class harmony, and identity of the interests of capital and labour.

The Swaraj Party shifted the centre of political activity inside the Councils The constructive programme of the Congress did not satisfy it. The Party first declared its Council policy as that of wrecking legislatures from within However, it steadily modified the policy The Swarajists served on the government Steel Protection Committee in 1924 and on the Skeen Committee in 1925 The original policy of 'wrecking the legislatures from within' was progressively replaced by that of participation in and utilizing of the legislatures and even of readiness of co-operation with the government[71]

The Swaraj Party voted for the Steel Protection Bill in the Central Legislature in 1924 The Bill granted a subsidy to the Tata Steel Company without, however, providing safeguards for the interests of the workers in the industry

The Swaraj Party reached the climax of its strength in 1925 when the Congress handed over all its political work to the Party.

The Swaraj Party became the constitutionalist party of the Indian bourgeoisie which, after the tide of the nationalist mass movement had ebbed, desired to utilize the legislatures generally to press the programme of that class embodying demands such as free industrial expansion, development of heavy industries, and others.

Growth of Communal Tensions

Before proceeding further, a brief reference should be made to the growth of communal tensions and conflicts in the years following the Non-Co-operation Movement The years of the movement were the years of the forging of the unity and even large-scale united action of the Hindu and Muslim communities. After the end of the movement, however, a contrary process set in The reactionaries within both communities

exploited the situation and began to create feelings of animosity between them. Both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha took to belligerent communal propaganda This had the effect of undermining national unity and national consciousness.

These two communal bodies were controlled by the landlords and other reactionary vested interessts within the communities. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked· 'Hindu and Muslim communalism is, in neither case, even *bona fide* communalism, but political and social reaction hinding behind the communal mask.'[72]

There were a series of communal outbreaks during the period following the Non-Co-operation Movement Communal clashes took place at Delhi, Gulbarga, Nagpur, Lucknow, Shahajanpur, Allahabad, Jubbulpore, and Kohat in 1924, and at Delhi, Calcutta, Allahabad, and other places in 1925 In subsequent years, too, communal outbreaks of various dimensions occurred in the country.

Growth of Socialist and Communist Ideas

The post-Non-Co-operation period witnessed another development of increasingly great significance in the history of Indian nationalist movement It was the growth of socialist and communist groups and the rise of independent economic and political class organizations of the working class in the country

The victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of a socialist state in Russia had aroused interest in socialist and communist doctrines among the radical nationalists in India A section of these, who were dissatisfied with the Gandhian ideology and Gandhi's constructive programme as well as the constitutionalism of the Swaraj Party, studied and embraced socialist ideology and began to evolve rival programmes of Indian Independence from the standpoint of the new ideology. The first socialist weekly, *The Socialist,* was started in Bombay by S. A. Dange in 1923 In 1924, the government arrested Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, and sime others on a charge of conspiracy, and, in the Cawnpore Conspiracy case that followed, the accused were sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment The growth of socialist ideas, though on a very small scale, was a new phenomenon in India

Socialist ideas began to spread among the radical youths in subsequent years. Workers' and Peasants' Parties were formed in Bombay, Bengal, and the Punjab The parties popularized the programme of national independence They supported the economic and political demands of the workers and peasants and organized them on class lines for their class demands. Further they stood for direct action of the workers and of the peasants as the method of struggle to secure Independence

The Workers' and Peasants' Parties built up trade unions and organized and led a number of strikes in the country The Bombay Party built up in 1928 the Girni Kamgar Union with a membership of 65,000.

The Bombay textile workers' strike, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway strike, the South Indian Railway strike, and numerous other strikes which broke out in 1928, were mostly organized and led by the members of these parties

It was during these years that the highly developed trade unions and socialist and communist parties of England sent to India a number of representatives such as Fenner Brockway, Spratt, Ben Bradley, and others, to assist the growth of the rising working class and nationalist movements Spratt and Bradley were subsequently arrested, tried, and sentenced in the Meerut Conspiracy case, 1929

From Boycott of Simon Commission to Lahore Congress

Discontent among the nationalist ranks began to rise steadily from 1926 A sense of futility regarding both the constructive programme of Gandhi and the constitutionalism of the Swaraj Party was growing

The economic measures of the government such as the stabilizing the rupee ratio at 1s 6d, the introduction of preferential rates for British steel in 1927, and others, created a strong feeling of resentment among the Indian bourgeoisie.

The appointment of the Simon Commission with a complete non-Indian personnel in 1927 accentuated the discontent of all political groups and parties.

The Madras Congress of 1927 met in the atmosphere of growing political discontent in the country. A Left Wing had grown within the Congress which was not satisfied with the

goal of Dominion Status and desired to substitute Complete Independence for it. It also insisted on a programme of struggle

The Madras Congress was a turning point in the history of the Congress It, for the first time, declared Complete Independence as the aim of the Congress It decided upon the boycott of the Simon Commission It affiliated itself to the International League against Imperialism.

The Congress also supported the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese and other Imperialist powers

Gandhi disapproved of the passing of the Independence Resolution at Madras describing it as 'hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed'

Adoption of Independence as the aim of the Congress implied also a reverse for the Swarajists whose programme amounted to Dominion Status within the Empire. Pandit Motilal Nehru had remarked just before the Congress met at Madras that 'The only result the present action of the Government is likely to lead to is to strengthen the hands of that growing body of Indians who are working for complete independence. I am afraid those who are still for full responsible Government within the Empire will find it difficult to maintain the majority which they undoubtedly have at present.'[73]

The year 1928-9 was marked by a phenomenal growth of the student and youth movement in the country, especially in Bombay and Bengal. Simultaneous to this, under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, an All-India Independence League with branches in a number of centres was organized. These organizations supported the Independence demand and had radical programmes sympathizing with and supporting the demands and struggles of the masses. They generally stood for a national democratic programme based on independence, the abolition of States and the zemindari, and the improvement of the conditions of the masses The student and youth organizations together with the Independence League and Workers' and Peasants' Parties played an important role in organizing the Simon Commission Boycott campaign

The Statutory Commission reached India on 3 February 1928 As a protest, an all-India hartal was observed on that day There were meetings and demonstrations in a number of places in the country

Big demonstrations took place in Delhi, Lucknow, Madras, Calcutta, Patna, and other towns There were clashes between the police and the demonstrators in a number of places

At Lahore Lala Lajpat Rai was hurt by a lathi blow when the police tried to break up the gathering. Many believed that his death after a few months was mainly due to the injury received.

In February, an All-Parties Conference composed of the representatives of the right wing of the Congress such as Pandit Motilal Nehru, and the Liberal leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Ali Imam, met. In August, the conference published a report known as the Nehru Report in which it outlined a scheme of a constitution for India. The scheme asked for a constitution based on that of a self-governing dominion The Report also recognized 'all titles in private and personal property'

The Socialist and Left nationalists criticized the scheme as abandoning the goal of independence and conserving zemindari and other reactionary propertied interests

The year 1928-9 witnessed a series of strikes in the country. There was a general strike in the Bombay textile mills involving 150,000 workers The strike was led by the Girni Kamgar Union and the Bombay Textile Labour Union

The strike wave reached its peak in 1929 when 531,059 workers were involved in contrast to 131,655 workers involved in 1927.

The strike movement revealed the increasing class consciousness and militancy of the Indian working class Further, the strikes were often (as in Bombay) led by the members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, whose political influence was felt among the workers. The working class was beginning to develop into an independent social force

The workers also exhibited their growing political consciousness by participating in political processions under their own flag The workers participated, in large numbers, in the Simon Commission Boycott

The Calcutta Congress met in December 1928 It became an arena of the political battle between the advocates of Dominion Status (as embodied in the Nehru Report) and the protagonists of immediate independence Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru led the latter group. Gandhi attended the Con-

gress session and brought all his influence to bear on the delegates to vote for a compromise resolution which asked the Congress to accept Dominion Status if it was granted within a year and, failing that, to launch a non-violent non-co-operation movement.

The amendment moved by Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru was defeated The amendment said, "The Congress adheres to the decision of the Madras Congress declaring Complete Independence to be the goal of the Indian people and is of opinion that there can be no true freedom till the British connection is severed"[74]

The Calcutta Congress revealed the growing strength of the radical forces in the Congress

The growing political consciousness of the working class was indicated by the fact that 50,000 workers of the Calcutta mills came in a procession, remained in the Congress pandal for about two hours, and passed a resolution for national independence.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party held its first all-India Conference during this period at Calcutta. It adopted a programme of complete independence, the abolition of native states and landlordism, the nationalization of key industries, an eight-hour working day, and other items.

In March 1929, the government arrested a number of leaders of the working class and national movements on a charge of conspiracy. The case, known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case, lasted for four years at the end of which, while some of the accused were acquitted, others were sentenced to long terms which, on appeal, were, however, substantially reduced There were communists as well as non-communists among the accused who also included three Englishmen, Spratt, Bradley, and Hutchinson. Three of the accused were members of the All-India Congress Committee.

In the middle of 1929, the Viceroy issued the Public Safety Ordinance, which gave the Governor-General in Council power 'to remove from India British and foreign communist agents'[75]

The Trade Dispute Act was passed in the same month which declared sympathetic strikes, strikes 'designed to coerce Government', and 'lightning strikes in public utility services' illegal

The government took strong measures during the year 1929 against the movements which were developing Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of *The Modern Review*, was arrested for publishing *India in Bondage*. Bhagat Singh and Dutt were arrested and sentenced to transportation for life for throwing a bomb and propaganda leaflets in the Central Legislative Assembly while it was holding its session. In Calcutta, Subhas Bose and a number of leading Congressmen were arrested and tried on a political charge.

Bhagat Singh and Dutt, who were in the Lahore jail and had already been sentenced to transportation for life, were, while in jail, further charged with the murder of Mr. Saunders, the Superintendent of Police of Lahore. The case was known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case in which Dutt was acquitted and Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were subsequently sentenced to death

A number of political prisoners including the Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners and Jatin Das went on hunger strike to secure better conditions for political prisoners Jatin Das died at the end of 64 days' hunger strike. His death created a profound stir among the people

In Burma, the Rev Wisaya, who was in prison on a charge of sedition, went on hunger strike to secure better treatment After 164 days of the hunger strike he died

The political atmosphere in the country was growing increasingly tense.

On 31 October, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, issued a statement in which he said 'I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgement, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status'

The Viceroy's statement created a hope of political settlement among the Congress and non-Congress leaders They met at Delhi and published a Manifesto (the Delhi Manifesto) in which, among other things, they said: 'We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion Status suitable to India's needs.' To create conditions for the success of the proposed Round Table Conference, the Manifesto suggested that 'political prisoners should be granted an amnesty' and that the

Indian political parties must have effective representation at the Conference.

The Manifesto was signed by Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Besant, Sir T B Sapru, and others.

It was considered anomalous for Jawaharlal to have signed the Manifesto since he stood for independence and no compromise Subsequently, he declared the Manifesto a political error.

On 23 December 1929 Gandhi and Motilal Nehru representing the Congress, and Jinnah and Sapru representing the views of other political groups, met the Viceroy at Delhi Gandhi asked for an assurance that the Round Table Conference should start its political labours on the basis of the recognition of full Dominion Status for India. The Viceroy pleaded his inability to give such assurance This led to the breakdown of the negotiations

Complete Independence, Declared Objective

The Congress met at Lahore in a tense political atmosphere.

The Lahore Congress defined Swaraj as Complete Independence It empowered the All-India Congress Committee to launch Civil Disobedience including the non-payment of taxes when it considered proper.

Jawaharlal Nehru, in his presidential speech, declared himself a socialist and a republican 'Independence for us means complete freedom from . British Imperialism' Further, he remarked "The real thing is the conquest of power by whatever name it may be called I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power'

The Lahore Congress became a prelude to another nationalist mass movement.

The Congress fixed 26 January of every year as Independence Day It organized the first Independence Day celebration on 26 January 1930 There were extensive demonstrations and meetings throughout the country

Gandhi published in Young India, on 30 January, Eleven Points which constituted a programme of demands such as total Prohibition, the reduction of ratio to 1*s* 4*d*, the reduction of land revenue at least by 50 per cent, the abolition of

salt tax, protective tariff on foreign cloth, the passage of Coastal Tariff Reservation Bill, and others He wrote, ' . . let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of Civil Disobedience, and the Congress will heartily participate in any Conference. . .'

The Eleven Points were criticized by the Left nationalists as a modification and reduction of the demand for independence to that for some reforms The government, however, did not respond to the offer.

Civil Disobedience Movement

The Congress Committee met at Sabarmati in February and invested Gandhi 'and those working with him' with full authority to lead and direct the Civil Disobedience campaign.

Before launching the movement, Gandhi wanted to have full conviction that it would not directly or indirectly lead to the slightest violence He was, however, of opinion that if a non-violent movement was not started, violent movements would break out in the country due to the impatience of the people for freedom He expressed this view in his letter to the Viceroy on 2 March 1930: 'The party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt . It is my purpose to set in motion that force (non-violence) as well against the organized violent force of the British rule as the unorganized violent force of the growing party in violence To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned.' This was Gandhi's estimate of the existing situation.

Finally Gandhi decided upon launching the struggle He declared that, in the first stage, he would restrict the movement only to himself and seventy-nine carefully selected followers who would break the Salt Law of the government at Dandi on 6 April

Gandhi and others who contravened the Salt Law were not arrested It had, however, the effect of unleashing the forces in the country and precipitating unauthorized actions

On 9 April, Gandhi formulated a programme for the movement thus 'Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt, sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops Young and old should .

spin . . Foreign cloth should be burnt Hindus should eschew untouchability . Let students leave Government schools and colleges and Government servants resign their service . . and we shall soon find that Purna Swaraj will come knocking at our doors.'[76]

The Boycott of foreign cloth and liquor enforced by methods of picketing and propaganda met with success Students, in considerable numbers, left educational institutions The Congress Committees organized meetings in defiance of police ban and firings and lathi charges were resorted to by the police to break up the banned rallies

Movements of other types also broke out in the country A group of revolutionaries raided the police armoury at Chittagong in April. In May, in Sholapur, there were mass demonstrations during which clashes between the crowds and the police took place. A number of government buildings and liquor shops were destroyed There were police firings which led to large casualties Martial law was promulgated and troops were brought to suppress the outbreak.

Most serious developments, however, took place in Peshawar in April. The city witnessed a number of mass demonstrations during which clashes occurred between the crowds and the police An armoured car was burnt by the demonstrators, and due to the police firing which ensued, a large number of persons were killed and wounded. One significant incident during the period was that a group of Indian soldiers belonging to the 18th Royal Garhwali Rifles, when ordered to fire on the crowd, refused to do so They were subsequently court-martialled and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Large forces were requisitioned and the city was finally brought under control.

On 5 May, the authorities arrested Gandhi. The arrest led to hartals, demonstrations, and strikes all over the country. There were disturbances in a number of places. The events at Sholapur described before were a sequel to Gandhi's arrest.

The government strengthened its measures It issued a number of ordnances In June, it proscribed the Congress and all its branches. Under the Press Ordinance, 67 newspapers and 55 printing presses had been closed down before the end of July.

Repression was intensifying The number of political pri-

soners swelled to 90,000 during this period, according to the estimate of Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Congress historian.

The government released Gandhi and other members of the Congress Working Committee in January 1931

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

In March, after considerable negotiations, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded Under the terms of Pact the government agreed to stop repression and release political prisoners excluding those convicted of violent offences Gandhi, on his side, consented to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement and stood for the participation of the Congress in the Round Table Conference which would discuss a scheme for a constitution of India of which 'Federation is an essential part So also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters as, for instance, Defence, External Affairs, the position of Minorities, the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations'

The Left nationalists criticized the agreement and called it a compromise, a deviation from the objective of Independence for which the struggle was started.

The Karachi Congress, 1931, approved of the agreement Though disagreeing, Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru voted for it to preserve national unity.

The Congress at this session also passed an important resolution on Fundamental Rights It guaranteed civil liberties to every citizen. It stood for the nationalization of key industries and transport, better conditions of life and labour for the workers, far-reaching agrarian reforms, free and compulsory primary education, universal adult franchise, and other things

Gandhi soon after sailed for England and attended the Round Table Conference He made a number of statements on the Federation Scheme, on the problem of minorities, the army, and the safeguards, and explained the Congress position He opposed communal electorates and, due to divergence of views on this question, the Conference broke up and the delegates returned to India.

The months during which Gandhi was absent were characterized by great agrarian discontent The fall in the prices

of agricultural commodities due to the agrarian crisis, a part of the world economic crisis which had broken out in 1929 and was still persisting, had brought about considerable economic distress among the Indian farmers In the latter part of 1931, in some parts of the United Provinces, Gujarat, and Burma, sections of agriculturists had refused to pay rent and tax. The government accused the Congress of encouraging the farmers, thereby of breaking the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact The Congress, on the other hand, declared that the government repression had not ceased in spite of the Pact

Revival of C. D. Movement

Gandhi, soon after his return to India in December, asked Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, for an interview to discuss matters The latter, however, declined.

The Congress decided to revive the Civil Disobedience Movement when negotiations between the Congress and the government finally broke down Gandhi was arrested on 4 January 1932 The government immediately issued a number of ordinances such as the Emergency Powers Ordinances, the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance and the Unlawful Association Ordinance. The Congress organizations were banned Practically all Congress leaders were arrested and the arrest of a large number of civil resisters took place. The government, under the powers provided by the Ordinances, confiscated the property of a number of organizations and took action against the section of the Press which supported the struggle.

The number of those arrested had reached, according to the estimate of the Congress, 120,000 in April 1933

In addition to the Civil Disobedience developments, the year 1932 witnessed two other outbreaks, one in Kashmir and the other in Alwar, both native states ruled by autocratic princes The revolt of the peasants in the Alwar state had economic roots, being the outcome of the exorbitant land revenue.

The revolt reached serious dimensions and was put down only with the aid of British troops

Macdonald, the Prime Minister, announced in July the Communal Award creating separate electorates for the de-

pressed classes and other minorities Gandhi who was opposed to any separate electorate of the depressed classes went on 'a fast unto death'. It resulted in the Poona Pact which, while maintaining the joint Hindu electorate, reserved seats for the depressed classes. The number of the reserved seats exceeded that provided by the Award

Gandhi embarked on another fast in May 1933 The fast was meant as a lever for the spiritual strengthening of himself and his co-workers so that they might better consecrate themselves to the cause of the uplift of the Harijans. The fast objectively played the role of diverting the attention of the people from the political struggle

The government soon released Gandhi from prison The Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended temporarily by the Congress President in the light of the fast and under the advice of Gandhi

Lessons of C D Movement

The suspension was commented upon by Subhas Bose and Vithalbhai Patel who were in Europe at the time, in a joint manifesto they issued, thus. 'The latest action of Mr Gandhi in suspending Civil Disibedience is a confession of failure . We are clearly of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi as a political leader has failed The time has come for a radical reorganization of the Congress on a new principle, with a new method, for which, a new leader is essential.'[77]

The Congress, under Gandhi's advice, finally decided to wind-up mass Civil Disobedience in July.

The All-India Congress Committee officially wound-up Civil Disobedience, mass or individual, in May 1934, with the exception of Gandhi who was, however, free, if he chose, to practise it.

The government legalized all Congress organizations in June 1934. A number of youth leagues and other bodies remained, however, illegal

Gandhi resigned his membership of the Congress soon as a result of sharpening differences between him and a section of the Congressmen.

Before withdrawing from the Congress organization, Gandhi influenced the Congress in introducing change in its con-

stitution and organizational structure. This was due to the growing strength of the Left nationalist and socialist forces within the Congress. The number of members of the Congress provincial committees was diminished and methods of elections to higher committees changed to the disadvantage of the minority groups The revision was rightly criticized by the Leftists as undemocratic.

The Federal Constitution was passed in Parliament in 1935. It was, however, in 1937 that its scheme of provincial autonomy was put into operation in India.

The Civil Disobedience Movement, the second nationalist mass struggle in the history of Indian nationalism, ended in 1934 It had a greater mass basis than the movement of 1920-21 It proved increased political awakening among the Indian people The masses including the peasants were drawn into the nationalist struggle to a greater extent They had also evolved their own independent political and economic organizations which was not the case in the first movement. The direction of the movement lay, however, with the bourgeois leadership of the Congress

The bourgeois leadership headed by Gandhi, consistent with the Gandhian political ideology and its class affiliation, restricted the scope of the nationalist movement It, as a rule, disapproved of the independent actions of the workers and peasants such as strikes and the non-payment of rents, etc which they organized under their own class leadership and uncompromising political slogans and which injected vitality and effectiveness into the movement. The fear that these independent actions might get out of control and seriously jeopardize the Indian vested interests like the zemindari constantly haunted the bourgeois leaders and determined their attitude to them * Further, Gandhi, as the publication of his Eleven Points showed, was always animated by a desire for compromise and settlement

* Gandhi supported the existing economic structure of the Indian society based on capitalist private property and the zemindari and stood for its perpetuation He did not think that exploitation was implicit in the existing social relations of production themselves, and the increased impoverishment of the masses the result of the inevitable working out of the laws governing the development of the economic structure He believed that, given enough moral will among the capitalists and the

zemindars, the economic suffering of the masses could be eliminated

'I shall be no party to dispossessing the propertied classes of their property without just cause. My objective is to reach your hearts and convert you so that you may hold all your private property in trust for your tenants and use it primarily for their welfare . The Ram Rajya of my dream ensures the rights alike of prince and pauper. You may be sure that I shall throw the whole weight of my influence in preventing a class war. Supposing that there is an attempt unjustly to deprive you of your property you will find me fighting on your side Our Socialism or Communism should be based on non-violence, and on the harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, the landlord and tenant' (Gandhi's statement to the U P. landlords in July, 1934, published in *Maratha*, 12 August 1934)

The failure of the movement engendered a feeling of despondency in the nationalist ranks The Congress membership declined to about half a million at the end of 1936.

Limitations of Gandhi and Gandhism

Indian Nationalism found its highest expression in Gandhi. However, as an editorial of "New Perspective" observes "Due to his social origin and all earlier experiences and influences, though he developed a progressive nationalist outlook, ideologically he could not transcend the bourgeois limitations of that outlook

"Subjectively he incarnated the very spirit of nationalism, its profound hatred of foreign enslavement and heroic will and determination to end that enslavement The consciousness of Gandhi, the nationalist of the classical type, was also completely free from even the faintest trace of provincial particularism or communalism.

"The texture of Gandhi's consciousness was essentially bourgeois and, therefore, his nationalism was governed by a bourgeois class outlook What does this signify? It means that his conceptions of Imperialism, of struggle against Imperialism, of the methods of that struggle, of national independence, were determined by that class outlook"

The ideology of Gandhi, its political theory, economic doctrine, and ethical views, arose out of the historical needs of the national bourgeoisie. Since the national bourgeoisie was in objective opposition to imperialism which did not permit free industrialization and general economic development of the

Indian society, it played a progressive role. Gandhism had therefore a progressive content too. But the economic dependence of the national bourgeoisie on imperialism, on foreign finance capital, and further, its economic interlocking with landed interests, compelled it to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. There was also the perennial fear of the mass movement which might also challenge native capitalism This transformed the national bourgeoisie into an anti-revolutionary and yet reformist oppositional social force.

Gandhism met both the needs of the national bourgeoisie viz that of exerting pressure on imperialism through mass struggle and, second, that of limiting that struggle, diverting it in those channels which also would make it harmful for Indian propertied classes.

Gandhi felt convinced that a happy prosperous national existence could be built up on the basis of a capitalist social system This was due to the class limitation of his world outlook Indian capitalism was not a young capitalism with a prosperous future in front of it. It was a feeble part of the declining world capitalism It had no markets and colonies as sources of super-profits In competitive struggle with giant capitalisms of U S A , Britain and others, it had little prospect of success It lived a precarious existence. It was denied the privilege of giving decent standards to the working masses since its revenue was limited.

Gandhi, however, due to class inhibition, was unable to grasp this objective historical fact. He did not realize that the laws of competitive capitalist economy were objective laws There is no free will for capitalists Their practice in the economic field is dictated to by the exigencies of competitive economic struggle under capitalism. Class struggle emerges out of the capitalist social soil

Gandhi due to his class inhibition could not transcend the bourgeois outlook and therefore was unable to see the social roots of wars, exploitation and oppression and attributed them to man's weak ethical nature Instead of a radical transformation of the social structure as the solution of the world's ills, he gave the recipe of the "change of heart" theory as the panacea of those ills. Not that the social system should be changed but the human heart must experience a fundamental moral transformation Instead of working for a programme of

substituting socialist social relations in place of capitalist social relations, he strove for humanizing capitalist social relations, which had intrinsic exploitative essence and character and could not, therefore, be humanized. He could not discover in the class structure of society the origin of social ills but in the ethical degradation of man which the capitalist social system itself engendered.

The bourgeois consciousness of Gandhi should not, however, be confounded or identified with the sordid consciousness of an ordinary bourgeois. Gandhi was a bourgeois only in the sense that he sincerely believed in the validity of the existing society based on capitalist property system, alternative to which he saw social chaos Gandhi recognized and denounced in burning words the barbarities of capitalist exploitation but could not transcend his essential bourbeois outlook. Gandhi loved the masses but also believed in the bourgeois social system. He indefatigably worked to alleviate the conditions of the masses within the framework of that system, a task which could not be accomplished because historically speaking, there was no economic basis for implementing programmes of humanism or reformism in the era of the general decline of the world capitalist system, especially in a country like India where no prosperous capitalism could evolve "There emerges in such a phase the painful spectacle of a noble humanist engaged in making ineffectual attempts to alleviate the misery of the masses while becoming, at the same time, a consistent opponent of all attempts of the masses to change the society since he sincerely believes in the validity and immutability of that social system. The noble humanist, who is unable to recognize the reactionary nature of the declining social system, becomes the opponent of a historically needed social transformation."

Though, as stated before, Gandhi was an anti-communalist par excellence and struggled for achieving Hindu-Muslim unity, in tragic reality, the Hindu-Muslim antagonism, instead of decreasing, became accentuated from stage to stage

This was due to his inability to trace the socio-historical genesis of that antagonism. He discovered its origin "not in the material life processes of Indian society but in the weak ethical structure of the people. In fact. historically, the communalism of the Muslim masses was the distorted ugly expres-

sion of their large scale economic discontent born of exploitation by capitalists, landlords, money-lenders and merchants who, in India, happened to be composed predominantly of Hindus The economically weak Muslim upper classes, in their struggle against their powerful rivals who happened to be Hindu, gave a communal turn to this class discontent of the Muslim masses. This was the origin of Muslim communalism."

When such was the genesis of Muslim communalism, the only decisive method to counteract it was to unite the Indian masses, both Hindu and Muslim, on the basis of their own common economic interests and lead them against Indian vested interests, both Hindu and Muslim Thus alone, the Muslim communalists could have been isolated from the Muslim masses "Gandhi made heroic endeavours to end communalism, for three decades, by means such as passionate patriotic appeals, noble soundings of man's human depths, frequent fasts and others Communalism grew upgrade."

The nationalist movement led by Gandhi and governed by Gandhian ideology thus became a peculiar blend of bold advances followed by sudden and capricious halts, challenges succeeded by unwarranted compromises, resulting in uncertainties, confusion and befogging of perspective of the masses

This, paradoxically, strengthened the very reactionary tendencies which Gandhi wanted to eliminate

Rise of Radical Organizations

From 1936, the nationalist movement took an upward swing. Jawaharlal Nehru, presiding over the Lucknow Congress, exhorted the delegates to adopt a programme of the united front of all forces of national freedom. He recommended the affiliation of trade union and peasant organizations (kisan sabhas which had already sprung up in the country) to the Congress so that the mass basis of the nationalist movement led by the Congress might be consolidated. The proposal for collective affiliation was, however, defeated at the Congress but a Mass Contact Committee was formed.

A number of radical organizations had sprung up by this time Within the Congress, the Socialist Party on an all-India basis was formed. Outside the Congress, kisan organizations with a programme of the abolition of landlordism and imme-

diate demands for the reduction of land tax, rent, and debts, had been organized under the leadership of Swami Sahajanand, Professor Ranga and Indulal Yagnik The influence of these forces was reflected in the decisions of the Lucknow Congress

The Congress, at its Lucknow session in April 1936, decided to participate in the elections which were to be held in 1937 under the New Constitution. It held its session again in December of the same year The Resolution passed declared "its entire rejection of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the constitution that has been imposed on India against the declared will of the people'. It further said, 'The Congress stands for a genuine democratic state . . . Such a state can only come into existence through a Constituent Assembly, elected by adult suffrage, and having the power to determine finally the Constitution of the country To this end the Congress works in the country and organizes the masses and this objective must ever be kept in view by the representatives of the Congress in the legislatures. . . .'

The Election Manifesto of the Congress embodied demands for civil liberties and equal rights of citizens. It also declared that 'it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land, giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue . . and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue'. The Manifesto also stood for an inquiry into peasant debts and their substantial reduction

For the industrial workers the Manifesto announced a programme of a proper standard of living, hours and conditions of work, and social legislation It also stood for 'the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests'

The Manifesto also declared that it stood for the abolition of sex inequalities in social, economic, and all other spheres. It stood for the abolition of untouchability and the uplift of backward classes

The Manifesto promised encouragement to khadi and the village industries and protection to the large industries without prejudicing the interests of the former.

With this programme and the prestige of the Congress

which had inaugurated and led great national movements in the past, the Election Manifesto had a great appeal. The Congress scored a big victory in the elections

The Congress secured decisive majorities in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa It emerged as the most powerful party in Bengal and Assam in the elections.

Congress Ministries in Provinces

In March 1937, the All-India Congress Committee decided that the Congress should accept offices in the provinces where it commanded a majority in the legislature, 'provided that ministership shall not be accepted unless the leader of the Congress Party in the legislature is satisfied and able to state publicly that the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the office of Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities'. There was a minority opposition from the socialists and some Left nationalists to the resolution of office acceptance.

For some time, interim ministries composed of the members of other parties functioned in the provinces where the Congress had majorities in the legislatures. The Viceroy announced on 22 June that Governors would generally act so as 'not merely not to provoke conflicts with their Ministers to whatever party their Ministers belong, but to leave nothing undone to avoid or resolve such conflicts' In light of this declaration, the Congress decided to form ministries.

Congress ministries were soon after formed in Bombay, Madras, Bihar, United Provinces, Orissa, and Central Provinces. Later on, a Congress ministry was formed in the North-West Frontier Province since the Congress, with the aid of a number of non-Congress members who agreed to abide by the Congress discipline, secured a majority support.

The Congress ministries, soon after they were installed, released political prisoners. They legalized a number of organizations which were prohibited. They cancelled internment and deportation orders imposed on political workers. They returned securities to a number of newspapers.

Soon after, however, the Congress governments became targets of criticism by the Left nationalists, socialists and lea-

ders of labour and peasant movements, for restricting civil liberties and adopting repressive measures

The Criminal Law Amendment Act had always been branded by the Congress as an oppressive piece of legislation The critics pointed out that the Congress ministry in Madras, with the support of Rajagopalachari, had been making use of the Act against anti-Hindu agitation. The critics resented when Gandhi also supported its use. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*. 'I have never studied the Act but I see from Rajaji's public declaration that it contains fair sections which suit the new situation that the Congress is facing. If such is the case, Rajaji will be foolish if he does not make use of them'

Batliwala, a prominent socialist, was banished from Madras

In Bombay, the Bombay Trade Disputes Act was enacted under the Congress government in 1938. The Act restricted the freedom of strike and laid down rules for the registration of trade unions which the labour leaders considered advantageous to the unions sponsored by the employers. The Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress organized a protest strike. In the firing by the police that took place, one person was killed and a number of others were wounded

The Election Manifesto had guaranteed the workers' right to strike and its curtailment by the Congress government was criticized as a breach of the promise embodied in the Election Manifesto. The police firing was also condemned

The Congress government promulgated section 144 and others in Ahmedabad when the workers went on strike. In Sholapur, a number of labour leaders were arrested on the 'Release of Political Prisoners Day' when they organized a demonstration. Some of them were subsequently tried and imprisoned.

The Congress government of the North-West Frontier Province was also criticized for making use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act when the peasants launched a struggle against the Raja of Toru.

Swami Sahajanand, the president of the All-India Kisan Sabha, published a pamphlet *The Other Side of the Shield* (A Reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad) in which he strongly criticized the Congress government in Bihar for not implementing the promises made before the elections and for using repres-

sion against the Kisan Movement.

Dr. Menon, Secretary, Indian Civil Liberties Union, stated in *Civil Liberties Under Provincial Autonomy*:

> 'It must however be asserted that the major repressive laws . still remain on the Statute Books The Criminal Law Amendment Act is one such. . .
>
> 'The Punjab Government has been the worst sinner in the use of this Act In 1937, there were 24 prosecutions under this Act in the Punjab . Bengal comes next.
>
> 'Both these provinces, however, are beaten in sheer numbers, in the use of this Act by the Congress government of Madras.
>
> 'The Bombay government promulgated the C L A. Act at Ahmedabad in connexion with the strike in the textile industry in that city The Act was used at Sholapur also'

The ministries could not make and implement big programmes of social legislation due to insufficient finance Regarding the agriculturists, the Congress government introduced some measures which, however, were very inadequate The Bombay Tenancy Bill of the Congress government, as the statement prefixed to the Bill said, affected only four per cent of the tenants Very little was done for the agricultural labourers

The dissatisfaction of the agriculturists was revealed in the growth of peasant unions in the country and their strong criticism of Congress governments as not fulfilling their pledges

The Congress Ministries were also criticized for working the Provincial Autonomy part of the new Constitution contrary to what was stated in the Election Manifesto. This criticism came from the Left wing of the Congress

Another new development after 1935 was the growing political consciousness among the people of the Indian states. Prajamandals or peoples' organizations developed in a number of those states In course of time, the All-India States' Peoples' Conference was organized which integrated most of these organizations. The programme of these bodies included demands for civil liberties, representative institutions, the improvement of the conditions of the peasantry, the abolition of forced labour and the removal of state monopolies. Leaders of the Indian National Congress like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru took great and even active interest in the movements of the people

of the states and their organizations

The Congress met at Haripura in 1938 and passed a resolution which stated the following:

> 'The Congress reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal scheme and calls upon the Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inaguration In the event of an attempt being made to impose it despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the Provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to co-operate with it In case such a contingency arises, the All-India Congress Committee is authorized and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard'

Rift between Gandhi and Subhas Bose

The cleavage between the Right and Left wings of the Congress was deepening, especially during the period of Congress ministries.

Subhas Chandra Bose stood for the Congress presidential election in 1939 He forwarded a programme of a comprehensive country-wide struggle against Federation He strongly criticized the policies and the political practices of the Right wing Congress leadership.

Bose had the support of the Socialist Party, the Communists and the radical section of the Congress

Gandhi supported the candidature of Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a veteran and outstanding Right wing leader.

Bose was elected by 1,575 against 1,376 votes as the President of the next Congress to be held at Tripuri.

Bose's success was an indication of the rapid growth of radical forces in the Congress as also of the dissatisfaction growing against the policies of the Right wing leadership.

As a sequel to Bose's election, twelve out of fifteen members of the Working Committee resigned

The Tripuri Congress (1939) passed a resolution on the 'National Demand' rejecting the Federal Scheme. It declared that the Congress would organize a struggle against it if intro duced.

Another resolution expressed confidence in Gandhi's leadership and laid down that the President should nominate the Working Committee consonant with Gandhi's wishes.

This resolution gave Gandhi supreme power.

Bose and Gandhi could not reach an agreement about the formation of the Working Committee. As a result, Bose resigned Rajendra Prasad was elected in his place

Bose subsequently formed the Forward Bloc.

The All-India Congress Committee met in May and passed resolutions which made the Congress constitution more rigid, reduced the powers of Provincial Congress Committees to exercise control over the Congress ministries and prevented the members of the Congress from starting direct action without the consent of the Congress Committees. This made it impossible for Congressmen to organize any struggle against the wishes of the official Congress leadership.

The left groups organized protest action against this decision of the Congress dominated by the Right wing leadership to stifle their freedom of action Bose was charged with breaking the discipline of the Congress for this and had to resign his presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

The Congress had rejected the Federal Scheme and declared its decision to organize a mass struggle if it was inaugurated Radical forces were growing within and outside the Congress. The movements of the workers and the kisans were steadily developing. The democratic and anti-feudal struggle of the people of the states was extending.

When the country was witnessing these developments, the World War II broke out

Due to the exigencies of space as well as due to the fact that the main object of this book is to portray the social background and the social-genetic causes of the rise of Indian Nationalism and not to write a complete history of political nationalism, we will onclude our study here.

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CHAPTER XIX

PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES AND MINORITIES

Problem of Nationalities and Minorities in India

THE PROBLEM of nationalities and minorities was one of the outstanding problems of the Indian nationalist movement.

With the growing political awakening among such nationality groups as the Andhras, the Malayalis, the Karnatakis, the Maharashtrians, the Baluchis and others, and such minority groups as the Indian Muslims, the Sikhs, the depressed classes and others, the problem assumed decisive significance, both from the standpoint of the united national movement for political independence as also from that of the character of the future state structure of post-independent India.

The problem of nationalities and minorities was not a unique problem of Indian nationalism. Such a problem *did* emerge and demanded solution in the history of a number of modern peoples such as the Austrians, the Hungarians, the Russians, and others.

It is not that every modern people was confronted by their historical development with the problem of nationalities For instance, such peoples as the English and the French had not to confront such a problem on the road to their consolidation as nations and during their subsequent triumphant and full-fledged existence as nations In contrast to this, the peoples of the East European countries like the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Balkans, and others, had to confront this problem [1] There are specific historical reasons for this distinction

Genetic Causes of Rise of Nationalities

A survey of the historical development of modern nations

reveals the crucial fact that they are product of the capitalist development of society. The extending process of the capitalist eonomic development overcomes the economic, social, and politial disunity of a people, unifies them within a single political and economic system, and welds them into a cohesive nation

'The closer connexion between different parts of a country, different sections of the population, arises with modern capitalism This is a powerful integrating force breaking down the barriers of feudalism, concentrating large masses in big industrial centres, connecting the countryside with the town, producing the middle class which becomes in the beginning the main representative of the new idea of nationality Therefore the origin of modern nations is closely connected with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, which destroyed feudal seclusion and dispersion and for the first time united vast popular masses in a common struggle with common ideas In this way the British nation arose from the revolution of the seventeenth century, the French nation from the great Revolution of 1789.'[2]

In countries where the process of economic and resultant linguistic and cultural consolidation of loosely existing peoples into united and compact nations preceded the establishment of centralized national states, no appreciable problem of nationalities and minorities emerged On the contrary, in countries where, due to historical reasons, a centralized state came into existence before the loose mass of tribes or peoples, whom it governed, was transmuted into a well-knit nation living a common economic life and feeling a common cultural impulse as a result of the unifying power of the capitalist economic development, the problem of nationalities and national minorities *did* arise in the course of historical development.

This historical fact is succinctly summed up and illustrated by Stalin as follows:

Modern nations are a product of a definite epoch—the epoch of rising capitalism The process of the abolition of feudalism and the development of capitalism was also the process of formation of peoples into nations The British, French, Germans, and Italians formed into nations during the victorious march of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity

'Where the formation of nations on the whole coincided in time with the formation of centralized states, the nations naturally became invested in a state integument and developed into independent bourgeois national states Such was the case with Great Britain (without Ireland), France

and Italy In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the formation of centralized states, accelerated by the exigencies of self-defence (against the invasions of the Turks, Mongols and others), took place prior to the break up of feudalism, and therefore prior to the formation of nations Here as a result, the nations did not and could not develop into national states, but formed into several mixed multi-national bourgeois states . Such are Austria, Hungary and Russia '[3]

As a result of further economic and other developments as well as political, economic, and cultural oppression by the dominant nationality, nationality consciousness grew among the various peoples in the countries of these multi-national states [4] These suppressed, but now economically consolidated and conscious nationalities, occupying definite territorial zones, started movements for political freedom and even sovereign state existence.

Similarly minorities, religious (as the Jews) or ethnic, interspersed over the territory of a state, when they became conscious, started movements with the demand of proper safeguards for religious freedom, the free development of their language and culture, etc

Nation and National Minority, Their Differences

A nation is distinguished from the national minority by the fact that its members occupy a definite territory, usually speak one language, above all live a common economic life, and further have a common psychological structure expressed through its culture

'A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture '[5]

The members of a nation may profess different religions but that will not affect their basic nationhood, because 'Religion is not a lasting factor "Petrified religious rites and fading psychological relics" are modified by "the living social, economic, and cultural environment," that surrounds them '[6]

Thus, the British, though composed of the protestants and the catholics, not to speak of groups of materialists, agnostics, or theosophists, constitute a nation.

The members of a national minority, such as the Indian Muslims and the depressed classes, are interspersed over the entire state territory They are geneally united by a common religion or labour under some common specific social grievance, when democratic conditions do not prevail. However, they do not constitute separate distinct nations, since all their members do not inhabit a common territory and do not live a common economic life In fact, separate portions of them form parts of various nationality groups which inhabit various territorial zones, speak diverse languages, and have common economic and even social and cultural life.

Indian Nationalist Movement, Its Peculiarities

The process of the transformation of the physically, socially, economically, politically, and culturally disunited Indian people of the pre-British era into a more or less well-knit modern nation, did not follow the same route as in the case of the English or the French people Indian nationalism grew under the conditions of foreign conquest and colonial rule. It was British capitalism which, by economic and political means, crippled Indian feudalism, economically unified India through the introduction of capitalist economic forms, established modern means of communications so vital for an all-sided development and consolidation of a loose medieval people into a modern nation, and, further, brought the Indian people under the rule of a single centralized state.[7]

However, since this transformation of the Indian society was motivated by the interests of foreign capitalism, and adjusted, in character, extent, and depth, to the exigencies of these interests, it remained incomplete and even distorted. While this transformation provided the objective basis for the rise of the Indian nation out of an inchoate medieval community, its incomplete character prevented the forging of the Indian people into as compact a nation as the English or the French

While the national states which came into existence in those European countries as a result of victory over feudalism, almost abolished all feudal remnants in the social and economic life of their nations and, further, energetically assisted their free and rapid economic and cultural development, the

British government in India, as we have seen, perpetuated feudal relics and generally supported the conservative forces in the Indian society, as a social support to its rule and, further, adopted a policy of political counterpoise by introducing such devices as communal electorates, representation of 'interests' in legislatures, and others, which tended to perpetuate such distinctions and prevent the national consolidation of the Indian people. The British government also generally subordinated the interests of the Indian economy to those of the British metropolis thereby obstructing its swift and unfettered development so vital to accelerate the process of national consolidation. The development of transport and commerce, the industrialization and growth of cities, and, further, the resultant social cohesion and cultural advance, became limited and even distorted The British strategy of supporting communal and other conservative forces in the country, through a policy of counterpoise and creation of special communal and other interests, accentuated the tendency of anti-national division

These were some of the principal reasons why the national consolidation of the Indian people did not reach the level attained by the English or the French people during the nineteenth century.

The role played by the communalists and other native reactionary groups, nourished in the backward colonial environs and in the conditions of a thwarted economic and cultural development, also contributed to this insufficient consummation

The growth of Indian nationalism was, in fact, the outcome of the increasingly integrating conscious struggle of the progressive forces within the new Indian society, which came into existence during the British period, against the restrictions placed upon their free economic, social, political, and cultural development, as also of the Indian society as a whole, by the British government supported by native reactionary forces like the princes, the landlords, the communalists, and others Indian nationalism thus came into conflict with the rule of British capitalism supported by Indian feudal remnants and other reactionary forces This was in contrast to the nationalism of the English and the French peoples who, during the period of their national democratic struggles, came into conflict with their own indigenous feudal classes. This

was one of the basic peculiarities of Indian nationalism.

Another important peculiarity of the Indian nationalist movement was that, as a movement of a colonial people living under the subjection of a foreign capitalist nation, it became a mass movement since 1920 i e during the phase of world capitalist decline and the rise of powerful socialist world movement. The Indian nationalist movement was directed against the same system of Imperialism against which the socialist movement was also directed.

A third peculiarity of the Indian nationalist movement lay in the fact that within its ranks, the bourgeoisie, which, in fact, developed the movement to a mass level in later stages, exhibited compromising tendencies and desired for a settlement with the ruling Imperialism. This was due to the fact that the Indian bourgeoisie was interlocked with reactionary landlord and moneylending classes in the country, was dependent, due to its economic weakness, on British finance capital and was afraid of the growing dimension of the mass movement interpreting it as a danger to its class interest This was but logical from the standpoint of the class interest of the bourgeoisie Such a spectacle unfolded the perspective of the Indian nationalist movement culminating into a non-bourgeois victory of the national forces and of a path of socialist development in the post-independence phase

Thus, in contrast to the national democratic movements of the English and French peoples against feudalism in the period of the rise of capitalism, which culminated in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the modern capitalist society in those countries, and inaugurated an epoch of world capitalist development, the Indian nationalist movement against British Imperialism, in the period of world capitalist decline, promised to culminate in a non-bourgeois victory and thereby unfold the perspective of a socialist phase of national existence of the Indian people simultaneous to the advance of the socialist movement in other parts of the world.

Awakening of Dormant Nationalities

As mentioned before, the problem of nationalities and minorities was one of the outstanding problems of the Indian nationalist movement We will see how this problem emerged

and came in the forefront of Indian nationalist politics

The growth of nationalism in India was an uneven process, both regarding tempo and time, among different communities and provinces As previously seen, nationalism grew in India as a result of the conditions created by the British conquest and rule and the action of the forces accompanying this conquest and rule. Since this conquest as well as the penetration of new forces did not take place throughout the country at the same time, the conditions, which lead to the rise of political and national consciousness, matured unevenly among different parts and communities Some provinces and some communities became politically conscious earlier than others Consequently, the development of the nationalist movement of the Indian people was subsequently paralleled by the growth of independent political movements of such socio-religious categories as the Muslims, the depressed classes, the Sikhs, and the non-Brahmins, and of such provincial social groups speaking the same language and having the same culture as the Andhras, the Malayalis, the Karnatakis, the Tamils, the Kanarese, the Marathas, the Oriyas, the Gujaratis, the Punjabis, the Sindhis, the Bengalis, the Biharis, and others

The political awakening of the 'dormant' nationalities, which these provincial social groups represented, reached such a high level in the thirties of the present century that they felt themselves as distinct entities, as nationalities. It was brought about by a number of factors. These factors were the further economic development of these provinces which led to the appreciable growth of the industrial and commercial classes; the increase in the educated class, and the impact of the great mass civil disobedience movement of 1930-4 which brought sections of the masses of these nationalities for the first time in the orbit of the notional movement, thereby kindling national consciousness among them Further, rich provincial literatures, which grew during these years and were the expression of the nationality consciousness among the intelligentsia of these provinces, and which further voiced the latent aspirations of these nationalities to live freely as distinct nationalities, played an important role in making increasing strata of the population nationality-conscious.

The movements of these nationalities were inspired by the urge of self-determination, by their will to live and deve-

lop their life freely as distinct nationalities These movements were the product of the specific pressures, felt by them, of the British rule

As group awareness developed among these populations, they felt a yearning for a free corporate life unhampered by the existing provincial divisions which did not correspond to linguistic groups but were created mainly for administrative convenience in the course of the extending conquest of the Indian territory by the British A number of these nationalities like the Biharis, the Andhras, and the Karnatakis, speaking their own languages and having their own cultures, demanded the reconstitution of the existing provinces in such a way as would unite them territorially. For instance, the Andhras wanted to separate Andhra from Madras, the Karnatakis wanted 'Sanyukta' Karnatak separate from Maharashtra. Similar demands were made by the Biharis, Oriyas, and others

These wakened nationalities also developed their own languages, built up increasingly their own literatures, started their own universities, created their own 'national' theatres, and revived and enriched their own cultures. The Andhras, the Maharashtrians, the Karnatakis, and some other nationalities, also established their own chambers of commerce These indicated the growth of consciousness of these peoples and their desire for integration

The desires of these peoples for the reconstruction of their own provinces so that they might be homes of peoples speaking the same languages, having the same cultures, did not conflict with the conception of a single Indian state It was a demand for the redistribution of existing provinces which were primarily created to meet the needs of British administration

These awakened peoples did not, however, ask for separate sovereign state existence. They did not demand a political partition of India.

The Indian National Congress had recognized the new development and had adopted the scheme of the reconstruction of the provinces on a linguistic basis. It had visualized the Indian state of a free India as a federal state which, while retaining power and control over matters of such vital importance and common interests as defence, communications, foreign affairs, and others, would give 'widest autonomy to the provinces'. It also declared that no territorial unit would be

compelled to remain in the Indian Union and would have the right to secede if it so desired.

Two Contradictory Tendencies at Work

There were, however, two tendencies at work in the growing movement of these awakened nationalities One was progressive and another reactionary, anti-national, and disruptive

When these nationalities put forth the demands of their territorial amalgamation, of the free use and the unfettered development of their languages and cultures, and others, they only expressed their national democratic yearning for full self-expression and self-development. This yearning did not conflict with their urge to unite with other nationalities and the rest of India in a broad national movement for Indian independence In fact, the new awakening could only strengthen their urge to unite, on a national scale, with other groups with a view to bringing the moment of the accomplishment of Indian independence nearer when they could achieve freedom for unrestrained development of their life as distinct nationalities and in union with the rest of the Indian people In fact, this tendency unfolded the perspective of a free Indian nation composed of varied Indian nationalities, living and developing a rich, complex, and multi-sided social and cultural existence This tendency was definitely a progressive tendency.

But when the commercial or industrial groups among the awakened nationalities utilized the nationality consciousness of the masses of those nationalities to incite hatred against their trade and industrial rivals belonging to other nationalities and provinces, wrongly giving their sectional interests a national garb, or, when a section of the professional classes of one nationality roused animosity among the masses of that nationality against the professional classes of other nationalities or provinces over a struggle for jobs, giving their sectional interests a national disguise, those professional classes and trading and industrial groups were engaged in disrupting the broad national unity of the Indian people, so vital for realizing the aspirations for freedom and progress of the Indian people as a whole as also those of the many nationalities comprising the Indian people for free development as distinct nationalities The inter-provincial animosities so roused weakened the urge

for national unity and united national movement and prevented the collaboration of all social groups in the country in progressive social, political, and cultural tasks

Indian Muslims, A National Minority

In addition to the growing movements of the awakened nationalities, there developed, within the framework of the Indian nationalist movement, movements of such minorities like the Muslims, the depressed classes, the Sikhs, and others

Judged by the criteria previously enumerated, these social groups were not so many nationalities since they did not speak the same language, occupied no definite territory, and lived no common economic life Far from being nationalities, they were rather socio-religious categories

The most important of these, the Muslims and the depressed classes, were dispersed over the whole country Their different sections generally spoke the language of the provinces they inhabited and participated in the economic life of the provincial social groups of which they formed integral parts In Malabar, the Muslims (Moplas) even dressed like the Hindus. It was so in Bengal and a number of other provinces Often, even their diet was of the provincial pattern The Moplas and the Bengali Muslims predominantly ate rice, the staple food of the populations of those provinces, determined by geographical, economic, and historical reasons, while their religious brethren of the Punjab flourished on a diet of wheat, the staple food of all Punjabis whether Hindu or Muslim. Common religion was the only bond between the members of these religious communities Their vital and daily exchange, social and economic, was with the rest of the provincial population of which they formed a part.

There were no common economic interests of all Muslims, who numbered about nine crores and were interspersed practically all over India Like the Hindus, they were divided into landlords and princes (nawabs), professional classes, shopkeepers, money-lenders, peasants, and workers. Like the Hindu community, the Muslim community had a class structure comprising classes with divergent and even conflicting interests. In fact the live economic reality conspired to disrupt these supposed monolithic unities by pressing its separate classes to

unite with similar classes of other communities. Common religion could not abolish the vital fact that identical economic interests propelled the landlords, the capitalists, the workers, or the peasants of separate communities to unite and endeavour unitedly with their counterpart groups within other communities to satisfy their specific class interests. The propaganda of communalism could only retard the historically progressive process of unification on lines of class division which were based on the existing economic structure.

Similarly, in the political sphere, the interests of the Indians of all faiths urged them to unite in a common national movement against the British rule which impeded the economic, social, and cultural development of the Indian society Further, prompted by their distinct economic and other sectional interests, some classes of different faiths formed their own political and economic organizations like the landlords' unions, workers' trade unions and socialist parties, chambers of commerce, kisan sabhas, and others

Thus, the Indian Muslims, lacking a common territorial basis, language, and economic life, neither constituted a nation nor, since divided into classes, represented a monolithic social structure, with common economic and political interests The landed and bourgeois interests which dominated the principal organization of the Muslims, the All-India Muslim League, and sections of their professional classes which were rivals of the Hindu professional classes in the struggle for posts in the services or seats in legislatures, endeavoured to canalize the political awakening of the Muslim masses into communal channels; but that could not remove the fundamental fact mentioned above Their activity could only retard the process of the growing national unity of the Indian people and the class unity of the lower strata of the Indian society which sprang from the reality of the British rule over India and the class structure of the Indian society.

It must, however, be recognized that the peoples of such provinces as Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier, and others, which were preponderantly Muslim, bore the characteristics as distinct nationalities. Each of them had a community of territory, language, culture, and economic life They belonged to the category of nationalities like the Andhras, the Malayalis, and others, with the difference that they happened

to belong, in the overwhelming mass, to a single religion They were nationalities not because they were predominantly Muslims but because each of them occupied a common territory, spoke a common language, possessed a common culture, and lived a common economic life They were not parts of any fictitious Indian Muslim nation but distinct nationality groups, the overwhelming majority of which happened to subscribe to one religion

Communalism among Muslims, Reasons

The political awakening of the Muslim masses was canalized into the incorrect communal channel due to a number of reasons. The professional classes and the bourgeoisie developed within the Muslim community later than from the Hindu community The former found the latter already firmly established in government services, as also in key positions in trade, industry, and finance They needed the support of the mass of their community in their struggle with the Hindu rivals for jobs and industrial and trade interests They misdescribed this struggle between the sections of the same classes, as communal, as those between the Hindu community and the Muslim community. They began to gather the support of the politically awakened Muslim masses among whom national consciousness increasingly developed as a result of the growing nationalist movement in the country, as also due to their poverty under the existing system. The upper elements of the Muslim community, composed of the landlords and sections of the bourgeoisie and the professional classes, tried to give this growing national and class awakening of the Muslim masses a deformed communal form, with a view to secure their support to serve their sectional interests as also to prevent a united mass movement of the poor strata of all communities against the vested interests.

Further, the British strategy of political counterpoise between various communities to maintain its paramountcy, carried out through the devices of communal representation, communal electorate and weightage, and schemes of provincial reorganization to suit the Imperialist interests, helped to accentuate communalism in the country and retard the growth of the national movement of the united Indian people for free-

dom[8] That the policy of counterpoise was meant to strengthen the British paramountcy was recognized by a number of British statesmen as we will subsequently see

Communalism was mainly the result of the peculiar development of the Indian social economy under the British rule, of the uneven economic and cultural development of different communities, and of the action of the strategy both of the British government and the vested interests within those communities.

Late Awakening Among Them, Reasons

Since the Indian Muslims, ninety million strong in a population of four hundred million, formed the most important minority group in India, we will take a brief survey of their political development and various political movements which grew up among them

The Wahabi Movement was the first organized movement of the Indian Muslims Though it started as a religio-reform movement, it developed, in subsequent stages, a political, social, and economic content[9]

The movement, as described in the chapter on politics, developed an anti-British character and even spread to a section of the Muslim peasants in Bengal leading to some peasant revolts which were quelled. The movement died a few years after the Mutiny.

The post-Mutiny period was politically and culturally perhaps the darkest period in the history of the Indian Muslims Since the Muslims had taken a more prominent part in the Mutiny than the Hindus, the British government did not trust the Indian Muslims and adopted a policy of disfavouring them.[10]

This was the strategy of political counterpoise which Britain employed throughout the period of her rule in India to maintain her paramountcy Lord Ellenborough had stated in 1843, even before the Mutiny, 'I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (Mahomedans) is fundamentally hostile to us and our true policy is to reconciliate the Hindus'[11] Lord Elphinstone, soon after the suppression of the rising, remarked, '"*Divide et impera*" was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours'[12]

The Muslims were mostly kept out of the ranks of the army[13] This had a serious effect on the economic position of the upper class Muslims who had hitherto mainly taken to the military profession

The British government introduced the English education in India for administrative and other purposes which reduced the importance of the Arabic and the Persian, leading to impoverishment among the Muslim intelligentsia. Their deep resentment against the new policy of the British government made them disorient from the new education while the Hindus were joining the new educational institutions and evolving a new English-knowing intelligentsia. This resulted not only in the cultural backwardness of the Muslims but also in their exclusion from the administrative posts and also the legal, the medical, and other professions. With the assimilation of the new education, the new Hindu educated class imbibed western ideas of democracy and freedom and became the pioneers and leaders of the Indian nationalist movement.

There was another reason why the Muslim community as a whole developed advanced political consciousness later than the Hindus The major portion of the economically, politically, and culturally dominant section of the Muslim community was concentrated in the Northern India which came under the political domination and the cultural influence of Britain later than other parts with a predominantly Hindu population 'In Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the three port areas, the centres from which British commerce and culture radiated, the bourgeoisie developed sooner, naturally; and consequently sooner reached the stage of independence. Now it so happens that those areas are predominantly Hindu (at least in their middle and upper classes) Bengal has masses of Muslims, but they are peasants and hence unaffected'[14]

It was first in these predominantly Hindu areas that the new economic system was established, modern means of transport spread, industrial cities grew, and new educational institutions were created The Hindus, who, even in the pre-British period, controlled most of the trade and mostly staffed the revenue department, adapted themselves to the new regime and utilized the new conditions. They therefore first evolved a nationalist and socially progressive intelligentsia.

Sir Syed Ahmad and Muslim Akawening

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98) was the first Muslim leader to organize a movement for uniting the Muslims and instilling into them a desire for the western education and culture He worked for the establishment of good relations between the British government and the Indian Muslims In his book *The Loyal Muhammadens of India*, published in 1860, he tried to establish that the Muslims were basically loyal, that the British government should abandon their attitude of political suspicion of them and that the Muslims on their part should participate in the administration and imbibe the progressive new culture which the British had introduced in India

Sir Syed formulated an educational scheme on the western model for the Indian Muslims. The scheme combined the western education with the basic teachings of Islam more or less rationalistically interpreted With the financial aid of the Muslim middle classes and the support of the government, he founded the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which was subsequently transformed into a University

The Muslim middle classes enthusiastically responded to the Aligarh Movement The Aligarh College created a modern Muslim intelligentsia which was imbibed with the spirit of political loyalty to the British government and enthusiasm for the western culture The college aimed at making 'the Mussulmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown'[15] The founders of the institution described the British rule in India as the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen '[16]

Sir Syed opposed the Indian National Congress and dissuaded the Muslims from joining it. 'I have undertaken a heavy task against the so-called National Congress and have formed an Association, "The Indian United Patriotic Association"'[17] He strongly held the view that the British government would show favour to the Muslim professional classes. 'Government will most certainly attend to it (jobs as colonels and majors in the army) provided you do not give rise to suspicions of disloyalty.'[18] Sir Syed was afraid that the Muslims would be overwhelmed by the Hindus with their superior economic power and greater education, without the support of the British government to the Muslims. He, therefore, advis-

ed a policy of loyalty to the latter and opposed the Congress which adopted a policy of Liberal criticism of and opposition to the government

It was after 1885 when the Indian National Congress was started that Sir Syed came into quite active opposition to the Indian nationalist movement led by the Liberal intelligentsia

A a member of the Council, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan supported communal against joint electorates

The Aligarh Movement started under the leadership of Sir Syed played a significant role in bringing about awakening among the Muslims, especially among its middle classes Chirag Ali, Sayyid Mahdi Ali, Mustafa Khan, Khuda Bukhsh, Poet Hali, Nazir Ahmad, and Muhammad Shibli Numani, were the outstanding leaders and exponents of the ideas of the movement They exhorted the Muslims to imbibe the western culture, to interpret Quran in the rational terms and in accordance with the needs of the Muslims in the present period and to revise their social system on more or less modern and democratic lines.[19]

As a result of the progressive educational work of the Aligarh Movement, an educated middle class crystallized within the Muslim community which steadily grew to important dimensions by the end of the nineteenth century

The years from 1890 to 1905 witnessed great political ferment in India. The factors making for this ferment have been enumerated in the chapter on politics The nationalist movement led by the Congress, as observed earlier, came increasingly under the influence of Extremists like Tilak, Pal, Lajpat Rai, and the Ghose brothers

The Hindu ideology into which Pal, Ghose, and other leaders clothed nationalism in the new phase could not appeal to the politically conscious Muslim middle classes But this was only one of the reasons why they did not participate in the nationalist movement during 1905 and subsequent years There were other reasons also. The main weapon of the Congress was the economic boycott of the British goods The successful boycott campaign hit the British capitalists and benefited the Indian industrialists who were preponderantly Hindu 'By 1905 industrialization . was no longer negligible in India Yet most middle class Muslims were still professionals and clerks, not millowners They had nothing to gain

from the use of Indian rather than foreign goods, in fact the boycott merely raised the prices of things that they bought'[20] The Muslims felt that they would be benefiting the Hindu mill-owners if they practised Swadeshi The Partition of Bengal was defended by Lord Curzon as a measure adopted for the convenience of the administration. The Liberal leaders of the Indian nationalist movement, however, criticised it as a device to weaken Indian nationalism The device, they said, created a split within the politically advanced Bengal population, by creating a predominantly Muslim East Bengal and Assam as a counterpoise to a predominantly Hindu West Bengal The division of Bengal 'on communal lines' was described by the Indian nationalists as a device to gather support of the backward Muslim community against the politically advanced Hindus

However, political consciousness was rapidly gathering momentum among the Muslim educated middle classes by the end of the nineteenth century. The inability of the administrative machinery to absorb them began to create among them moods of criticism of the government, however mild

Muslim League, Its Communal and Upper Class Character

The Muslim League, the first political organization of the Muslims mainly composed of the top stratum of the Muslim community and its professional classes, was founded in 1906 It was formed soon after a Muslim deputation led by H H the Aga Khan met Lord Minto, at that time the Viceroy. The Muslim leaders asked for separate representation to the Muslims in any electoral scheme that might be introduced The Viceroy acquiesced in the demand and said,

'The pith of your address is a claim that any system of representation whether it affects a Municipality or a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Muslim community should be represented as a community You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Muslim candidate and if by any chance they did so, it would only be at the sacrifice of such candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his community, whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your proposition should be estimated not on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of the community and the services it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you'[21]

Lord Morley held the view that it was Lord Minto's support to the claims of the Muslim leaders for separate representation that the latter conceived the idea of and formed the first communal political organization of the Muslims. He wrote to Lord Minto, 'I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the Moslem hare '[22]

The formation of the Muslim League was a landmark in the political evolution of the Indian Muslims. It was the first political organization of the Indian Muslims. The League laid down the following aims· '(1) To promote among Indian Moslems feelings of loyalty towards the British Government . . (2) to protect the political and other rights of the Indian Moslems and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language; (3) so far as possible, without prejudice to objects mentioned under (1) and (2) to promote friendly feelings between Moslems and other communities of India'[23]

The demands put forth by the League at its Amritsar session held in 1908 revealed its communal as well as the upper and the middle class character The resolutions passed at the session asked for Muslim representation on the local boards and the Privy Council and a percentage in the services The League, thereby, expressed the interests and struggle of the Muslim professional classes for jobs and posts

British Strategy of "Communities, Classes and Interests"

The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 introduced the system of separate electorates and representation for the Indian Muslims. The British government introduced the communal principle in the constitutional machinery of the Indian state. The principle was, in a subsequent period, extended and applied in the case of such communities as the Sikhs, the depressed classes, and other minority groups in the country The Government of India Act of 1935 provided separate electorates for a number of communities

In addition, the British government also created during its rule separate electorates for such non-communal groups as the landholders, the Europeans, the merchants and the indus-

trialists The general electorate was reinforced by separate electorates for 'communities, classes and interests'

The Indian nationalists strongly criticized the system of separate electorate and representation as obstructing the growth of national unity and perpetuating communal distinctions They even explained it as a deliberate political strategy of Britain to weaken the national unity of the Indian people.

A number of British statesmen held the view that the policy of counterpoise or balancing one class or community against another was absolutely vital for the preservation of the British paramountcy in India. We have already quoted Lord Ellenborough and Mountstuart Elphinstone

Lord Olivier wrote in 1926· 'No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that, on the whole, there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in India in favour of the Muslim community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism '[24]

Lord Minto, in his reply to the deputation of the Muslim leaders in 1906, clarified, as we have previously seen, that the conceding of communal representation to the Muslims would be largely a reward to them for their services to the Empire He further remarked in his speech before the Legislative Council, ' . . increased representation of Indian interests and communities would not weaken but strengthen British administration.'[25]

The maintenance of the British paramountcy had been the dominant urge of Britain in India, which determined its political strategy during the dfferent phases of its rule Even Liberal British ideologues and statesmen visualized only a good and not a free government for India 'A good government to a people cannot but be a free government Under imperialism a free government, as James Mill wrote, is "utterly out of question". A free government begins only with a break with imperialism. Minto wrote to Morley, 16 May 1907. "We cannot move far in that direction (responsible government) *and any move we make is merely a sop to impossible ambitions*".'[26]

A policy of counterpoise became, therefore, necessary and was adopted to maintain the British paramountcy in India After the Mutiny, the princes and the zemindars served as a

counterpoise. Lord Lytton desired to base the British rule on the support of an Indian aristocratic class. Lord Dufferin considered the liberal intelligentsia which developed in India as a make-weight against the growing forces of mass revolt and helped them to found the Indian National Congress, a platform for constitutional agitation He, however, soon felt the Congress going 'seditious'. Minto found in the rising Muslim professional classes a counterpoise against the militant nationalists composed mainly of the Hindu professional classes and the middle classes of the Indian National Congress.

Its Criticism

As the depressed classes, the Sikhs, and other minority groups, in later periods, developed political consciousness, in the reform schemes which were formulated they were given special electorates and representation and other rights and advantages This led to the conciliation of the newly arisen politically conscious groups which also therefore could serve as a counterpoise to the growing nationalist mass movement K B Krishna described this phenomenon thus·

"The British created artificially several classes The moment these classes came into existence the struggle between them began. The British gave an impetus and a legal acceleration to these struggles Princes, territorial magnates, industrial classes and Moslems were brought into play to counteract the claims of the lawyers, schoolmasters, students and other middle classes . . . Lord Lytton and Curzon spoke of a council of notables as a suitable counterpoise to "the claims of the Baboos, whose organization was the Congress" Both Minto and Morley openly used this idea of counterpoise in their letters and circulars Today the new constitution for India rests on a perfect equipoise of counterpoising policies '[27]

The same author also remarked.

'The Indian Mutiny provided the basis for a new type of imperialism. By this I mean that the British policy in India since the Mutiny, has been a combination of liberal and imperialist policies The policy of counterpoise is one aspect of such a new imperialism It is both liberal and imperialist liberal in that it recognizes and concedes the claims of the classes as they arise, and imperialist in the sense that what is conceded is always circumscribed by imperial interests utilizing the rivalries of various classes and interests '[28]

And further, 'The main theoretical idea of this policy is the "principle of communities, classes and interests" From the beginning, this idea has nothing to do with formal democracy It is solely concerned with a balance of interests, classes, and certain religious adherents (communities), as each interest and class clamoured for power '[29] And further,

'(1) The classification adopted by the Government of India is unscientific, full of cross-divisions, ignoring the real nationalities, or historical communities

'(3) This principle created a school of Indian moderate politics

'(4) It led to an artificial crop of associations, interests, and classes on purely religious lines After the Moslems, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, the Untouchables, and so on, followed

' the real object of communal electorates was to set up a Moslem professional class as a counterpoise against the Hindu professional class, after creating landed, merchant, and commercial limited electorates which returned their respective classes Herein lies the origins of the theory of communal representation '[30]

The author described the basic British policy in India as 'the amalgam of coercion, counterpoise, concession, and strengthening of paramountcy.'[31]

Even the concessions which were given were generally made with a view to preserve the British rule in India . . . 'However, liberal may be the concessions which have been made, and which at any future time be made, we have not the slightest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions, and it is highly improbable that any such intention will be entertained by our posterity '[32] Reforms and concessions granted to specific social groups composing a people have the tendency to divide them and retard the growth of a united movement. The Morley-Minto Reforms, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and the Constitution evolved by the Government of India Act of 1935, which gave special representation to an increasing number of minority groups and interests in the country, created dissensions among several of these groups, in spite of the fact that the nationalalist movement had been increasingly getting strong as a result of the political awakening of the lower strata of the Indian society

Growing Militancy among Muslims after 1912

Political consciousness steadily grew among the Indian Mus-

lims and from 1912 onwards, it even began to take a militant form. The Muslim middle classes developed increasing political maturity in the years immediately preceding the First World War. The national democratic Young Turk Movement led by Enver Pasha, also greatly influenced the Indian Muslims in the direction of a programme of self-government for India, which was subsequently adopted by the League in 1913 The Muslims now steadily began to be drawn into the orbit of nationalist movement

'What happened in the period beginning just before the First World War, was that the new middle classes among the Muslims . who were educated and vocal . outgrew their dependent position within the imperial system, and began also to express their dissatisfaction '[33]

Dr Ansari, Abdul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mahomed Ali, and Hakim Ajmal Khan, were the outstanding leaders of the Muslims during this new and higher phase of their political awakening. In 1912, Azad started *Al Hilal* and Mahomed Ali founded and edited the English paper *Comrade* and the Urdu paper *Hamdard* These papers deepened the political consciousness of the Muslims and imbued them with a nationalist spirit.

The Muslim League at its Lucknow session in 1913 adopted the goal of 'attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, of Self-Government suited to India'

After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the British government took strong measures against political leaders and groups among the Muslims whose activities it considered detrimental to the efficient conduct of the war. They banned *Al Hilal*, *Comrade* and *Hamdard*, and interned the Muslim leaders like Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Azad, and Hazrat Mohani, in 1915

Both the League and the Congress held their respective sessions at Lucknow. The League session was attended by prominent Congress leaders—Pandit Malaviya, Gandhi and others H H the Aga Khan disapproved of the new nationalist orientation of the League and resigned the office of the permanent presidentship of the League soon after This was an indication that the League was being politically radical zed.

In Chapter XVIII, we have referred to the Lucknow Pact concluded between the League and the Congress in 1916 This

was the first instance of collaboration between the two organizations The Pact provided greater weightage with separate electorates to the Muslims in zones where they constituted a minority, and demanded from the British government 'that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the Reforms contained in the Scheme' and further, 'that in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions'

The League with the Muslim middle classes as its predominant social basis was steadily orienting towards nationalist conceptions and aims though on its own communal basis.

At its session held at Delhi in 1918, the League passed a resolution demanding the application of the principle of self-determination to India.

Khilafat and Hijrat Movements

The genesis and the history of the Khilafat agitation and movement has been narrated in the chapter on politics The Khilafat Conference was soon formed by the Muslim leaders with the active support of Gandhi and other prominent Congress leaders The Conference decided to start a struggle against what was described as the Khilatfat Wrong and adopted the programme of the Boycott of British goods and Non-Co-operation with the government.

Gandhi and the Indian National Congress enthusiastically supported the Khilafat Conference and the League in their demands for the restoration of the Holy Lands, Ottoman Thrace, and Smyrna to Turkey

The Ulema or the Muslim Divines formed their organization, Jamiat-Ul-Ulema, in 1919 It declared its support to the demands of the Khilafat Conference It exhorted the Indian Muslims to participate in the Non-Co-operation Movement, the first nationalist mass struggle in India which was started by the Congress with the support of the Khilafat Conference and which had for its aim the redressing of the injustices of the Treaty of Sevres, the withdrawal of repressive measures of the government in the Punjab and other parts of the country, and 'the establishment of Swaraj'

The history of the Non-Co-operation Movement, during

its various phases, has been narrated in Chapter XVIII. The Muslims in great numbers responded to the call of their leaders and participated in the movement

'One noticeable feature of the general excitement was the unprecedented fraternization between the Hindus and the Moslems'[34]

Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, and a number of other Muslim leaders, were imprisoned in the course of the movement Hundreds of Muslim volunteers were imprisoned for refusing to obey the ban put on their organization by the government The Muslims participated in the movement in all its phases

A section of the Muslims of Sindh and the North-West Frontier organized a Hijrat Movement As a protest against the Treaty of Sevres, they decided to leave India and migrate to and domicile in Afghanistan The Afghan government, however, refused them admission The movement proved abortive. The Mopla Rebellion which broke out in 1921 was considered by the government as an indirect consequence of the propaganda of the Khilafat leaders who exhorted the Moplas to join the Non-Co-operation Movement

The Mopla Rebellion illustrates how a predominantly economic struggle between the peasants and landlords assumes a communal complexion when these classes belong to different religions 'The Mopla Rebellion was in the main a movement of Moplas against the Hindu moneylenders and landlords, and against the government A leaflet issued by the Madras Publicity Bureau analyses the problem thus. ' there are two sets of causes predisposing the Mopla to outrage The religious motive is the more powerful, but there is also the effect of the economic contrast between the hard living of the Mopla and the life of the stately houses belonging to the Nambudri landlords "'[35]

Maulana Hazrat Mohani, presiding over the session of the Muslim League at Ahmedabad in 1921, said in his presidential speech "The Musalmans should realize that by establishing the Republic of India, their gain will be twofold. firstly, as citizens of a democratic Republic they will enjoy equal rights and receive the same benefits as others, and secondly, by curtailing the British sphere of influence, they will give the Islamic world the respite needed for the development of constructive activities'[36]

When Mohani brought the proposal of replacing the aim of the Indian National Congress of Self-Government by that of the establishment of the Indian Republic at the Congress session held at Ahmedabad at the same time, Gandhi who disagreed sharply rebuked him for his 'levity' The proposal of Mohani was rejected by the Congress.

After the Chauri Chaura incident, the Working Committee of the Congress led by Gandhi called off the Non-Co-operation Movement

The Non-Co-operation Movement had a great historical significance from the standpoint of the evolution of the political consciousness of the Indian Muslims It revealed that the political consciousness which was formerly restricted to the aristocratic and upper middle strata of the Muslim community had grown among a section of the Muslim masses also It is true that the Khilafat issue was a religious issue, but, linked up with the struggle for Swaraj, it had the effect of raising the national consciousness of the Muslims. Also, for the first time, large sections of the Hindus and the Muslims collaborated for a national goal, the goal of Self-Government for India They participated in various forms of direct action decided upon by the united leadership of the Congress and political Muslim organizations The struggle was also no longer merely over the distribution of seats in the legislative councils or posts in the public services

The calling off of the movement by Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee created a feeling of despondency among the people The deposition of Mahomed VI as Sultan and Khaliph and the installing of 'abd al Majid in his place as Khaliph only by the Turkish people in 1922, accentuated this feeling among the Indian Muslims History played a cruel joke on the Indian Muslims While they had started a struggle, one of the main aims of which was the restoration of the Holy Lands to the Sultan of Turkey who was also the spiritual head of the world Muslims, the Turkish people themselves secularized the Turkish state by separating religion from state.

After the end of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the Hindu-Muslim unity, which was appreciably built up, began to disintegrate The national unity increasingly began to give way to communal hostility and division A series of communal riots broke out in the post-Non-Co-operation period, that in

Kohat being the most serious.

Jawaharlal Nehru explained the political demoralization which ensued after 1922 in the following words 'It is possible that this sudden bottling up of a great movement' (Nehru refers to the Bardoli decision calling off the Non-Co-operation Movement) 'contributed to a tragic development in the country The drift to sporadic and futile violence in the political struggle was stopped, but the suppressed violence had to find a way out, and in the following years this perhaps aggravated the communal trouble '[37]

Perhaps it is not true that the 'suppressed violence' was the cause of the eruption of the 'communal trouble' The outbreak of communalism was probably due to the twofold fact that the national consciousness had not still struck deep roots especially among the backward Muslims and secondly, the nationalist leaders failed to give an appropriate programme after the end of the Non-Co-operation Movement. The non-political constructive programme formulated by Gandhi comprising items like prohibition, spinning, and the liquidaton of untouchability, could not be popular with the Muslim masses. The communal propaganda very likely achieved a certain amount of success due to the failure of the Congress, the leader of the nationalist movement, to evolve an appropriate political, social, and economic programme for the Indian people.

There was another reason why the Muslims increasingly began to disorientate from nationalism and develop a communal outlook

Though the Indian National Congress had been non-communal secular national organization of the Indian people having national freedom for its goal, its outstanding leaders like Gandhi sometimes attempted to inject Hindu religious ideas into the nationalist movement Gandhi, for instance, interpreted Swaraj as Ram Raj, a historical memory which could not enthuse the Muslims The foisting of some Hindu religious ideas on the secular movement of the Indian people for political freedom only tended to create a wrong suspicion in the minds of the Muslims that the nationalist movement started by the Congress was a Hindu movement. As R P. Dutt remarks "The political, social, and economic programme of the national movement should and can unite the masses of the

Indian people above, across and apart from religious affiliations. Such a strengthened, secularized, modernized, united democratic movement can be the strongest force at the present stage to counter communal agitation.'[38]

Communalism, its Real Essence

Communalism was only the disguised expression of the struggle between the vested interests belonging to different faiths who gave a communal form to that struggle It also was the form within which the struggle of the professional classes of different communities over posts and seats was carried on. One of the most effective methods to combat communalism was to unite the lower strata of different communities in a movement for securing their common economic and other interests

The masses belonging to the Hindu and Muslism communities had common political and economic interests. The distribution of seats in the legislative councils or posts in the public services did not affect them. A programme, based on their common interests, political and economic, could enthuse and unite them In proportion that they engaged themselves in the movement for fulfilling such a programme of common interests, communal appeals lost their force and the national unity was built up

'The communal question has no reference to religious issues They refer to spoils and percentages, seats and favours The communal question is in general a question of struggle between various sections of the professional classes belonging to different faiths

'The memorandum of the Government of Bombay to the Indian Statutory Commission put it thus "Something is also due to the growth of education among Mohammedans . with the growth of political consciousness among the Mohammedans and other backward classes came a realization of their weakness, through, among other causes, the disproportionate share of appointments held in the public services by the advanced classes and the status and influence that go with them" Here the Bombay Government recognized in the communal question the struggle between the backward and advanced classes for posts and emoluments'[39]

There were other types of struggles which, though mainly economic in origin, took a communal form. In provinces like

Bengal, due to historical reasons, it happened that the peasantry was predominantly Muslim, while the landlords were mainly Hindu Due to the cultural backwardness of the peasantry it was not difficult for the communalists to misrepresent any real economic conflict between the Muslim tenants and the Hindu landlords as a communal conflict and subsequently even convert it into a communal conflict Similarly, conflicts between moneylenders who were often Hindus and the Muslim debtors were sometimes misrepresented as the oppression of the Muslims by the Hindus and given a communal turn by the communalists The landlord-tenant and moneylender-debtor conflicts were misdescribed as communal conflicts

Thus the political and economic struggles between the classes of different communities were given a communal form by the communalists

These various struggles were classified by K B. Krishna in his Book, *The Problem of Minorities,* as follows

'1 There is the struggle between the professional classes of different faiths and communities The Moslem, Sikh, Indian Christian, Anglo-Indian, Untouchable professional classes are unequal educationally, politically and economically compared with the Hindu professional classes The reforms and political ambitions increased this rivalry between these classes. The struggle has taken the name of the problem of minorities or the problem of communal electorates

'2 The struggle is spread also to the commercial, industrial and shopkeeping-trading classes of different faiths and communities The rivalry between the Hindu and Moslem shopkeepers always comes into prominence during their respective holidays, and during the Civil Disobedience Movement The rivalry between the Hindu moneylender and the Moslem borrower, between the Hindu landlord and the Moslem tenant, between the Hindu and Moslem moneylenders and between the Hindu and Moslem landlords comes under this category

'3 Lastly, there are the struggles between the conservative classes of different faiths arising from backwardness, illiteracy, sometimes from the machinations of rival politicians, mob frenzy and all the social contradictions of the society

'These struggles arising from the social economy of the country, are accelerated in an epoch of the development of Indian capitalism under feudal conditions, by British imperialism, by its policy of counterpoise'[40]

The political movement of the Muslim community declined after the end of Non-Co-operation The Muslim League became again an organization of the Muslim conservatives It

failed to give any progressive political lead to that community. The League included a small group of nationalist Muslims within it.

The appointment of the Simon Commission composed exclusively of the non-Indians created almost universal resentment among the Indian people All political parties decided upon its boycott Even the League which was practically led by the Muslim conservatives could not be unanimous on the question of co-operation with it. The League consequently split One section led by Sir Mahommad Shafi, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, and Sir Mohammad Iqbal, met at Lahore under the presidentship of Sir Mahommad Shafi It passed a resolution welcoming the Commission.

The other section of the League held its conference at Calcutta under the presidentship of Jinnah It passed a resolution boycotting the Commission

The Indian National Congress had published the Nehru Committee Report which outlined the basic features of a constitution of India (see Chapter XVIII). The Committee recommended a scheme of joint electorate with reservation of seats, the separation of Sind, and the elevation of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province to the status of other provinces. It condemned the scheme of separate electorates Further, it decided that the reservation of seats, both in the Central and Provincial Legislatures, should be determined by the proportion of the Muslims to the total population.[41] The League, through Jinnah, its accredited leader, asked the Congress to introduce a number of amendments to the Nehru Constitution, one of the amendments being that one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature be reserved for the Muslim community The Congress refused to agree to the proposed amendments and the prospect of an alliance between the Congress and the League for a joint struggle vanished

Fourteen Points of Jinnah

Jinnah thereafter in 1929 published his famous Fourteen Points which became the basis of the propaganda campaign of the League subsequently. The proposals embodied in the Fourteen Points ran counter to the most important suggestions made in the Nehru Committee Report and included

among others the establishment of a federal state with the residuary powers vested in the provinces, the Muslim representation in the Central Legislature to be not less than one-third, separate electorates, and the inclusion of one-third Muslim Ministers in any Central or Provincial cabinet which might be formed.

Soon after, a split took place between the nationalist Muslims and the conservative section within the League The former desired to support the Nehru Report with minor modifications They formed the Nationalist Muslim Party.

The history of the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-4 has been narrated in Chapter XVIII. The nationalist Muslims enthusiastically participated in it

The Aga Khan unofficially represented the League at the Round Table Conference In the absence of agreement among the Indian groups at the Conference over the communal question, Ramsay Macdonald, the British Premier, announced the Communal Award

After 1933, the Muslim League began to reorganize and consolidate itself under the leadership of Jinnah. It elected him as its President and decided upon a programme of intensified political activity.

The League at its session in Bombay in 1936 condemned and rejected the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, for not meeting the demand of the self-government of the people

As a result of its great successes in the elections held in 1937, the Congress was able to form governments in a number of provinces. Jinnah and other Muslim leaders declared their dissatisfaction with the Congress Governments They accused them of being hostile to the Muslim interests and of favouring the Hindus

Jinnah's Criticism of Congress Governments

Jinnah, in his presidential address at the Lucknow session of the League held in 1937, remarked·

'The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Mussalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu, and

since they have formed governments in six provinces where they are in majority, they have by their words, deeds and programme shown that the Mussalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus'[41]

The Congress might have erred in not forming composite Coalition governments in the provinces comprising both the Congressmen and the Leaguers, thus creating the impression that it aimed at the monopoly of power Its Vidya Mandir scheme might have a Hindu flavour There might even have been instances of conscious or unconscious favour being shown to some individual Hindus by some Congress ministers. Even the social and economic programme of the Congress governments might have fallen and did fall short of the expectation of the Indian masses They might have, in contravention of their pre-election declaration, even made use of such laws as the Criminal Law Amendment Act, endorsed firing at the strikers, and even enacted the Bombay Trade Disputes Act limiting the democratic freedom of the workers to strike But the League's claim that the Congress governments pursued a deliberate policy of suppressing the Muslim community and establishing the Hindu hegemony over it was travesty of fact, a total untruth.

The failure of the Congress governments, reflecting mainly the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, to satisfy the economic and other demands of the poor strata of the Indian society, in spite of minor reforms, helped the communalist League leaders to antagonize sections of the Muslim masses against the Congress and win them for the League. Since the majority of the capitalists and zemindars were by religion Hindu, the League leaders could with some success decoy the poor Muslims into concluding that the Congress leadership which incidentally happened to be predominantly Hindu deliberately stabilized the exploitation from which they had been suffering at the hands of the Hindu landlords and industrialists out of a communal motive Class economic discontent and resentment of the Muslim masses were, thus through communal propaganda, canalized in communal channels and transformed into communal antagonism.

The League intensified its anti-Congress campaign at all

its subsequently held sessions It also maintained its propaganda against the proposal of the Congress for a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage with separate electorates for the Muslims, on the ground that such a Constituent Assembly in a preponderately Hindu India would be dominated by the Hindu majority

Muslim League Demands Pakistan

The League was now steadily advancing from its previous demands of separate electorates and special weightages to the final full-fledged demand for Pakistan or the splitting up of India into a sovereign Muslim state and a sovereign Hindu state The political-ideological basis for the latter demand, which it declared at its Lahore session in 1940, was the two-nation theory according to which the Muslims—a socio-religious category dispersed all over India—were a distinct nation. This conception of a nation was different from others such as the one which defined a nation as a historically evolved community of people speaking a single language, living a common economic life, occupying a definite territory, and with a common psychological make-up and culture

The outbreak of the war in 1939 transformed the Indian political situation The Indian National Congress resented Britain's action in committing India to war without the consent of the Indian people Under its instruction, the Congress ministries resigned in the Provinces

The Muslim League expressed its jubilation at the resignation of the Congress ministries by observing a 'Day of Deliverance'.

The All-India Muslim League held its session at Lahore in 1940 It was at this session that the resolution embodying the demand of Pakistan or the establishment of sovereign states of the Muslims on the basis of the two-nation theory, was adopted

The resolution stated as follows

'Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the follow-

ing basic principle, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated in regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them

'This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary'

The League held its session at Madras in 1941 when Jinnah in his presidential address remarked 'We do not want, under any circumstances, a constitution of an all-India character with one Government at the Centre. We are determined to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent state in this sub-continent'

Other Muslim Organizations

Before describing the attitude and views of other political groups and organizations in the country such as the Congress, the Liberals, the depressed classes, and others, regarding the Pakistan scheme of the League, we will briefly refer to some other Muslim political organizations, which sprang up from 1928 onwards and which embodied the growing political and national awakening of the Indian Muslims.

Abdul Gaffar Khan founded in 1930 the Khudai Khidmatgars, a nationalist pro-Congress organization of the politically awakened Muslims of the North-West Frontier Province It organized a no-rent campaign of a section of the peasantry of the province during the period of the Civil Disobedience Movement The organization stood for national independence to be achieved by the Gandhian methodology of struggle

In Baluchistan, the nationalist Muslims were organized in the pro-Congress Watan Party.

The All-India Momin Conference was another political organization of the Indian Muslims, mainly composed of the Muslim weavers It generally supported the Indian National Congress and was anti-League and anti-Pakistan [43]

The Ahrar Party was founded in 1930 in the Punjab by a group of the Muslim nationalist leaders. For some time, it won great political influence among the Muslim masses of the province The Ahrars participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-34 as also in the Satyagraha movement launched by the Congress in 1940.

The All-India Shia Political Conference was the political organization of the Indian Shias. The Conference generally supported the Indian National Congress.

In Bengal, the Krishak Praja Party led by Fazlul Huq, an effective demagogue and a 'quick-change' political artist, gathered extensive support among the Muslim peasantry with a programme of 'agrarian revolution but through parliamentary and constitutional means' The fact that in Bengal the zemindars were preponderatingly Hindu and the peasantry Muslim, helped the Party to secure a broad mass basis among the latter Under the leadership of Huq, the Party exhibited sometimes communalist and sometimes nationalist tendencies

The Khaksar Party founded by Allama Mashriqi in 1931 was another important organization of the Indian Muslims

The Khaksar Movement was based on the religious ideology of early Islam. The Khaksars considered themselves as militant fighters for the regeneration of modern Islam and elevation of the moral tone of the Muslim society which had become corrupt The movement claimed to represent the poor strata of society. It exhorted its members to live a puritanical life and devote themselves to social service

The Khaksar Party was built on the basis of almost military discipline It demanded from its members implicit obedience to the leader The Party sometimes even dreamt of world conquest. 'Our aim is to be once again Kings, Rulers, World Conquerors and Supreme Masters on earth'[44] This gave the Khaksar movement a strong fascist flavour

The movement gained greatest strength in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Sind It spread in some centres of South

India also

The Azad Muslim Conference formed under the presidentship of Allah Bux in 1940 was a synthetic group evolved out of the nationalist Muslims within the Indian National Congress, Jamyatal-ulema, the Ahrar Party, and other nationalist Muslim concentrations. It was opposed to the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan and supported the Congress demand for the reconstruction of the existing provinces on a linguistic basis and for granting those provinces 'right of self-determination to the point of secession but in the context of Indian freedom'.[45]

History of Idea of Pakistan

Having referred to the principal Muslim organizations in the country, we will proceed to state the various views about the scheme of Pakistan adopted by the Muslim League and the theory on which it was based, namely the theory that the Indian Muslims constituted a separate nation Common religion was the basic criterion on which the theory was founded

Jinnah traced the origin of the idea of Pakistan to Iqbal, the great Muslim poet.

'The idea of Pakistan, it is well known, originated in the brain of the late Hazrat Allma Iqbal. He was the mouthpiece of the highest aspirations of his people '[46]

Iqbal had said in his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930 thus. 'I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, amalgamated into a single state Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least the North-west India'[47]

It was, however, only after the promulgation of the New Constitution and the establishment of the Congress governments in a number of provinces that the conception of Pakistan drew the attention of the Muslim political groups

In his presidential address to the Lahore session of the League in 1940, Jinnah declared that the Indian Muslims were not merely a religious community but formed a distinct nation.

'The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster . If the British government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into "autonomous national states".'[48]

Jinnah further declared that the Hindus and the Muslims were not and could not be welded into a single Indian nation He argued

'It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism They are not religions in the strict sense of the word but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality The Hindus and Muslims have two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and likewise their victories and defeats overlap To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built for the government of such a state.

'Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam .

'Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people'[49]

The above comprehensive extract from Jinnah's presidential address at the Lahore session of the League sums up the basic essence of his argument in favour of Pakistan

The protagonists of Pakistan rejected the scheme of a federal state for India with a central cabinet responsible to a

central legislature retaining control over such vital matters as defence, communications, foreign affairs, etc. They declared that a central legislature would be dominated by a Hindu majority since the Hindus formed the majority of the Indian people.

Though the Muslim League had still not published any authoritative scheme giving a concrete and detailed idea of the nature of the autonomous sovereign Muslim states and their state and economic systems, individual Muslim intellectuals had evolved and published their own schemes.

Prominent among these schemes were those of 'Punjabi', Aligarh Professors, Dr Latif, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Rahmat Ali, and Sir Abdullah Haroon Committee

These schemes, though differing from one another, agreed regarding their basic premise that the Hindus and the Muslims in India were two distinct nations.

None of these schemes, as mentioned before, had been endorsed and adopted by the League which, however, had not still evolved any concrete and detailed scheme of Pakistan of its own.

Views of Various Parties and Leaders on Pakistan

We shall proceed to state the views of the important political organizations and groups in the country on the theory that the Indian Muslims formed a nation and that separate states of the Muslims in areas where they constituted a majority should be set up

(a) Leaders of Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress, under the leadership of the Liberals as well as the Militant Nationalists like Tilak, Pal and Ghose, always held the view that the Indians were a homogeneous nation. Their propaganda was directed to make them conscious of their being a nation and take to the road of a united struggle for administrative reforms and Self-Government. Gandhi and other leaders who succeeded the earlier leaders continued to subscribe to the same view though recognizing that the interests of the minority communities such as the Muslims, the depressed classes and others should be ade-

quately safeguarded They held the view that under a genuinely democratic constitution those interests could always be protected.

The Congress leaders were opposed to the very principle and system of separate communal electorates and weightages They considered them as calculated to perpetuate and deepen communalism. However, in the interests of the Hindu-Muslim unity which they considered as an indispensable and vital prerequisite for achieving freedom, they conceded the demands of the Muslims, the depressed classes, and other minorities, for separate electorates, weightages, or the reservation of seats. The Congress-League Pact of 1916 and Gandhi's concession to the depressed classes in the matter of seats in the legislatures in 1933 (the Poona Pact) were two of the instances of this However, the Congress officially had not considered the Indian Muslims or any other minority in India as a separate nation

The Congress held the view that the Indian people as a whole constituted the Indian nation. It criticized, however, the existing division of India into various provinces created by the British government as not corresponding to the different linguistic groups which composed the Indian nation It evolved a scheme of dividing India into provinces, each province inhabited by the people speaking the same language.

Recognizing the linguistic and provincial-cultural heterogeneity of the Indian nation, the Congress stood for a federal state structure for India, which would invest the Federal Centre with control over matters of common and vital interest leaving the residuary powers to the federating units (based on the linguistic principle) and 'giving them the largest measure of provincial autonomy'.

The Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution at its Delhi session in 1942 in which it declared that no territorial unit would be coerced into joining the Indian Union against its will.

Gandhi and other Congress leaders, however, did not accept, in fact, combated the League's theory that the Indian Muslims formed a nation They rejected religion as the determinant of a nation, though recognizing a group with a common religion as a cultural and communal minority. Arguing against the two-nation theory of the League leaders, Gandhi remarked:

The "two-nations" theory is an untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are descendants of converts They did not become a nation as soon as they became converts A Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour They dress alike The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the South among the poor who constitute the masses of India . The Hindu law of inheritance governs many Muslim groups Hindus and Muslims of India are not two nations Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide '[50]

Gandhi expressed the same view to Louis Fischer, the well-known American journalist He said

'We are not two nations We in India have a common culture In the North, Hindi and Urdu are understood by both Hindus and Moslems In Madras, Hindus and Moslems speak Tamil, and in Bengal they both speak Bengali and neither Hindi or Urdu When communal riots break out, they are always provoked by incidents over cows and by religious processions That means that it is our superstitions that create the trouble and not our separate nationalities '[51]

Gandhi blamed the British government for the Hindu-Muslim cleavage to a great degree He remarked to the same journalist, 'As long as the third power, England is here, our communal differences will continue to plague us Far back, Lord Minto, then Viceroy, declared that the British had to keep Moslems and Hindus apart in order to facilitate the domination of India' [52]

However, Gandhi was convinced that if the Indian Muslims became determined to separate, no power could prevent them from doing so He said, 'I know no non-violent method of compelling the obedience of nine crores of Muslims to the will of the rest of India, however powerful a majority the rest may represent. The Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. Any member may claim a division '[53]

And further, 'As a man of non-violence I cannot forcibly resist the proposed partition if the Muslims of India really insist upon it. But I cannot be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it... Partition means a patent untruth. My whole soul rebells against the idea that Hinduism and Islam represent two antagonistic cultures and doctrines . . But that is my belief. I

cannot thrust it down the throats of the Muslims who think that they are a different nation.'[54]

Satyamurti, a prominent Congress leader, described the Muslim leaders' contention that the Muslim community was economically exploited by the Hindu community as incorrect. He asserted that none of the two communities was economically homogeneous. The Hindu community was composed of the class of the capitalists, the landlords, and other rich men on one hand, and the labourers, the tenants, and other poor men on the other. The composition of the Muslim community was similar. Just as the economic interests of the poor Muslims were identical with those of the rich Muslims, those of the poor Hindus were also not identical with those of the wealthy Hindus. Hence, he said, it was incorrect to say that the Muslim community was a victim of economic exploitation at the hands of the Hindu community.[55]

Rajendra Prasad, another prominent leader of the Congress, attributed the growth of communalism in India to the system of separate electorates and weightages. 'It is equally clear that separate electorates have caused and aroused more communal feeling than anything else, and that it is not confined to communities which have enjoyed these separate electorates but has also permeated other communities who have fallen a prey to it, not only as against Muslims but also among different sub-communities or caste interests. This is a great legacy from our recent past.'[56]

The demand for Pakistan, Rajendra Prasad further remarked, ran counter to the general tendency in the contemporary world 'in favour of combination of states'. In the present world milieu, it was extremely difficult for the small states to survive and retain independence. Since a planned economy alone, in modern conditions, could assure economic advance or prosperity to a nation and since small states, with limited natural resources, could not undertake schemes of planned economy, Pakistan, by aiming at splitting India into a number of states, jeopardized the economic future of the Indian people, Hindu as well as Muslim. Rajendra Prasad, further, pointed out the increasing practice among the peoples of the Muslim countries outside India 'to base politics and economics more and more on other considerations than religion. Whatever the Muslim League and the protagonists of Pakistan may say,

there is no doubt that the Muslim states of the world today are becoming . secular states, just like the Christian countries of Europe The question is whether Indian Mussalmans will be able to turn the tide of events and establish and maintain the state on any other basis in India' He further argued that the problem of minorities would become more acute if India was divided into two zones, Hindustan and Pakistan[57]

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his views on the scheme of Pakistan in his letter to Dr S. A. Latif in 1942 He opposed the scheme on the ground that it would disrupt the economic unity of India which was vital for the material well-being of the Indian people as well as for the defence of India since military strength depended on economic strength The scheme if carried out would make impossible any programme of planned economy for the country so necessary for increasing its productive power and thereby liquidating poverty of the Indian people and, further, for creating civilized standards of material and cultural existence for them 'It is essential today to have a planned economy for the nation, and for this, as well as for defence, etc a strong Central Government is necessary'[58] He further remarked that Pakistan, insufficiently equipped with natural resources, would suffer most, if India was cut up into a number of economies due to political partition.

Pandit Nehru further stated that 'the tendency in the world is for larger federations to come into existence' The scheme of Pakistan was directed against this tendency If India was split up, Jawaharlal further argued, into a number of states, these states being small, and therefore relatively weak, would have no future before them except as satellites of larger nations He was consequently opposed to any division of India He finally explained the Congress stand thus:

'Thus generally speaking, the Congress stands firmly for the unity of India and for a federation with a great deal of autonomy for the units Nevertheless, at Delhi, it made it perfectly clear that if any territorial unit was emphatically and clearly of the opinion that it should break with the Indian Union, it should not be compelled to act contrary to its wishes Naturally, this would not be welcomed by us, and it would inevitably depend on certain geographical and other factors'[59]

(b) *Congress Socialist Party*

The Congress Socialist Party, a section of the Indian National Congress, rejected the two-nation theory of the League and opposed the demand of Pakistan in all its suggested various forms A Mehta and A Patwardhan, two prominent leaders of the party, wrote. 'We found the extreme demands of Pakistan to be fraught with incalculable mischief . . . Partition, far from solving it, complicates the Hindu-Muslim problem, and postpones the day of India's political deliverance It brings no balm for the sores of the body politics but pours upon them acids of disintegration.'[60]

The socialist leaders considered the technique of transplantation of population to make the Muslim and the Hindu areas socially homogeneous as impracticable Criticizing Dr Latif's scheme, they remarked· 'But the exchange would affect . nearly two-thirds of the total population of India It will mean uprooting humanity on a scale unattempted in history It is likely to provoke great popular opposition and cause tremendous misery.'[61]

The leaders were further of opinion that since the existing Indian economy was 'a composite one', the setting up of a number of sovereign states in India would disrupt that economy and be detrimental to the economic interests of the people both of Pakistan and Hindustan.

There would be 'alien' minorities in both Pakistan and Hindustan The minority problem, Mehta and Patwardhan argued, would then take an accentuated form. They wrote 'Even after partition, *enclaves* of the other communities will remain in both the Hindu and Muslim states, whose peace and safety will be jeopardized by the ever present danger of *irredentism* . . . the strain of *irredentism* will be inescapable because, even after partition, the League hopes to organize and lead the Muslims left in "Hindustan" The Hindus are sure to counter this demand with a similar claim Both states will thus be cursed with a well-knit minority of doubtful loyalty to the state. '[62]

(c) *Indian Liberals*

The Indian Liberals had already considered the Indian people

composed of various communities as a nation. Consequently, the Liberal leaders expressed their opposition to the scheme of Pakistan and the two-nation theory on which it rested. Dr. R. P Paranjpye remarked 'Then it must be understood that India of the present day is neither Hindu India nor Muslim India but India and that, therefore, every force which tends towards increasing Indian solidarity should be encouraged and any which tends to alienate the two should be consciously discouraged'[63]

Sir Chimanlal H Setalvad met the arguments of Jinnah thus: 'Mr Jinnah asserts that Hindus and Muslims can never form one Indian nation because they neither inter-marry nor dine together and have two different religious philosophies Why, among the Hindus there are numerous different castes and they do not dine together and inter-marry . . The Jains, the Buddhists, the Lingayats, the Tamils and Telugus, have different religious philosophies and worship different gods. The Shias and Sunnis have acute religious differences, resulting in sanguinary riots Are all these to be classed and treated as different nations?'[64]

(d) *Hindu Mahasabha*

The Hindu Mahasabha was the inveterate opponent of the League demand of Pakistan. It was uncompromisingly opposed to the partition of India V D Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, wrote. 'Mother India to us (the Hindus) is one and indivisible Unity of Hindustan from the Vedic Age down to the present day was an established fact That being so, the Hindus would never tolerate the partition of India into zones, as demanded by the Muslims '[65]

Savarkar declared that the Hindus by themselves constituted a nation with the entire India as their national sacred land. He said: ' in India, we Hindus are marked out as an abiding nation by ourselves. Not only do we own a common Fatherland, a Territorial unity, but what is scarcely found anywhere else in the world, we have a common Holy land which is identified with our common Fatherland This Bharat Bhumi, this Hindustan, India is both our Pitru Bhu and Punya Bhu . . Then we have common affinities, Cultural, Religious, Historical, Linguistic and Racial, which through the

progress of countless centuries of association, and assimilation moulded us into a homogeneous and organic nation'[66]

By implication, this conception logically led to that of the Indian Muslims also being a separate nation. Savarkar admitted this

While Savarkar thus recognized the Indian Muslims as nation, he refused to recognize their demand for the Muslim homelands. He reserved Aryavarta or India as the exclusive homeland of the Indian Hindus and dreamt of Hindu Raj This was illogical

(e) *Dr Ambedkar*

Dr Ambedkar propounded his views on the subject of Pakistan in his *Thoughts on Pakistan.* He subscribed to the idealist theory of nation as expounded by Renan who wrote· 'A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle One is in the past, the other in the present One is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down'[67]

Dr Ambedkar remarked that, judged by that criterion, the Hindus and the Muslims did not form a nation They were only 'two armed battalions warring against each other Their past is a past of mutual destruction—a past of mutual animosities, both in the political as well as in the religious fields The political and religious antagonisms divide the Hindus and Mussalmans far more deeply than the so-called common things able to bind them together'[68]

He further remarked that the Muslims were not merely a community but a nation, hence a constitution of the Indian state which safeguarded the interests of minority communities would not solve the problem He described the difference between a community and a nation thus·

'The difference comes to this a community has a right to safeguards, a nation has a right to demand separation . . To my mind the reasons for this difference pertain to questions of ultimate destiny In a state which is composed of a series of communities, one community may be arrayed against another But in the matter of their

ultimate destiny they feel they are one But in a state which is composed of a series of nations, when one nation rises against the other, the conflict is one as to diffences of ultimate destiny . All that it (a community) wants is a change in the mode and form of government A nation has to be accorded the right of disruption because it will not be satisfied with mere change in the form of Government Its quarrel is over the question of ultimate destiny'[79]

Dr Ambedkar explained the late discovery of the League Muslims that the Indian Muslims were a nation by the fact that 'a group may mistakenly call itself a community even when it has in it the elements of being a nation.'[70]

Dr Ambedkar held the view that no unity was possible between Pakistan and Hindustan. For unity to be real and indissoluble, he remarked, it must be founded on a sense of kinship It must be spiritual. Since the Muslims were an independent spiritual entity, such a unity was not possible Ambedkar stated that opposition to the establishment of one Central Government exercising its supremacy over India was the very essence of Pakistan Pakistan meant the establishment of a separate sovereign state of the Muslims in the Muslim areas

Dr Ambedkar held the view that the predominantly Muslim areas could be set up as independent Muslim states. The areas could be made homogeneous by transference of population. He did not consider such transference difficult in view of the modern means and resources and declared that the trouble and expenditure involved would be more than counterbalanced by the advantages of a permanent and effective solution of the complex and momentous problem

(f) *Communist Party of India*

The Communist Party of India recognized the right of the Muslims in the areas where they preponderated for autonomous state existence and secession Dr. G Adhikari, a prominent leader of the party, wrote "The demand for Pakistan, if we look at its progressive essence, is in reality the demand for self-determination and separation of the areas of the Muslim nationalities of the Punjab, Pathans, Sind, Baluchistan and of the eastern provinces of Bengal.'[71]

The views of the party on the problem of nationalities

and the likely state structure of a free India were embodied in the following section of its Resolution passed at the Party Congress, 1943

'(a) Every section of the Indian people which has a contiguous territory as its homeland, common historical tradition, common language, culture, psychological make-up and common economic life would be recognized as a distinct nationality with the right to exist as an autonomous state within the free Indian union or federation and will have the right to secede from it if it may so desire This means that the territories which are homelands of such nationalities and which today are split up by the artificial boundaries of the present British provinces and of the so-called "Indian States" would be reunited and restored to them in free India. Thus the free India of tomorrow would be a federation or a union of autonomous states of the various nationalities such as the Pathans, Western Punjabis (dominantly Muslims), Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindustanis, Rajasthanis, Gujeratis, Bengalis, Assamese, Biharis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamils, Karnatakis, Maharashtrians, Keralas, etc

'(b) If there are interspersed minorities in the new states thus formed, their rights regarding their culture, language, education, etc, would be guaranteed by statute

'(4) Such a declaration of rights inasmuch as it concedes to every nationality as defined above, and therefore to nationalities having Muslim faith, the right of autonomous state existence and of secession, can form the basis for unity between the National Congress and the League For this would give to the Muslims wherever they are in an overwhelming majority in a contiguous territory which is their homeland, the right to form their autonomous states and even to separate if they so desire

Such a declaration, therefore, concedes the just essence of the Pakistan demand

'(5) But the recognition of the right of separation in this form need not necessarily lead to actual separation On the other hand, by dispelling mutual suspicions, it brings about unity of action today and lays the basis for a greater unity in the free India of tomorrow National unity forged on the basis of such a declaration and strengthened in the course of joint struggle in the defence of our motherland is bound to convince the peoples of all Indian nationalities of the urgent need to stick together and to form a free Indian Union or Federation in which each National State would be a free and equal member with right to secede They will see this as the only path of protecting the freedom and democracy achieved '[72]

Dr Adhikari attributed the growth of the movements of nationalities in India to the growth of the spirit of nationalism and spread of the nationalist movement among the Indian masses He remarked that the all-India nationalist movement, 'is spreading to every nook and corner of India and bringing the

peasant masses of the most backward nationalities and communities into its vortex. The all-India national movement for the country's emancipation is growing into a rich pattern of a multi-national movement. The common goal of India's political and economic emancipation is being seen through the waking eyes of individual consciousness."[73]

We have now stated the attitudes and views of various political organizations and groups in the country on the problem of the most important minority in the country, that of the Indian Muslims with special reference to the system of communal electorate, special representation, and the scheme of Pakistan put forth by the Muslim League based on the conception that the Indian Muslims as a whole constituted a nation

The problem of nationalities and minorities almost occupied the central place in Indian national politics after 1930 Fierce controversies took place over it and strong political passions were roused when dealing with it.

A proper comprehension of that problem in the context of the objective historical development of the Indian society and its developmental tendencies, alone, could help to visualize the specific socio-historical conditions under which only a progressive solution of the problem could be achieved.

Problem of Nationalities, Prerequisites or Its Progressive Solution

A social problem arises from the social and specific social situation. The problem could be solved only if the social conditions which gave rise to it were removed

The problem of nationalities had emerged as the result of the political awakening of 'dormant' nationality groups, living a common economic life, speaking a common language, and possessing a common culture The movements of those nationalities embodied their urge for adequate territorial integration and the free development of their economic life, language, and culture, which was obstructed under the conditions of the British rule.

The first prerequisite for the solution of the problem was, therefore, the removal of the obstacle, in the form of the British rule, to the free development of these nationalities and,

further, the grant of the right of self-determination to the point of secession to them

We have still to consider whether freedom from the British rule and the acquisition of the right of self-determination were sufficient for a progressive solution of the problem of nationalities

A survey of the world history for the last two hundred years shows that mere national independence for a people is not sufficient for a successful solution of the nationality problem In Austria, Hungary, in the countries of the Balkan peninsula, the problem of nationalities agitated and remained unsolved for the free nations of those countries.

This was due to the fact that a complete solution of the problem of nationalities was not possible within the framework of the capitalist economic structure of society

Capitalist society is based on competitive struggle between nation and nation, also between nationalities within the same country. Further, due to the law of uneven development, capitalist nations as well as nationalities which are developing on a capitalist economic basis, are of unequal economic strength. Due to the very capitalist organization of the national and world economy, these nations and nationalities perennially, struggle for markets, raw materials, and zones of capital investment.

This breeds wars, animosities, oppression and enslavement of peoples

Powerful capitalist nations, in search for markets and raw materials, build up colonial empires and subjugate nations Nationalities within the same country, developing on a capitalist economic basis, carry on a competitive struggle among themselves, also with the rest of the world, for capitalist economic ends These struggles especially sharpen in the epoch of imperialism, of the general capitalist decline This does not breed any solidarity feeling between the nations of the world but engenders national animosities, imperialist wars, and national independence struggles of the subject peoples The world remains a cauldron of fratricidal struggle between man and man

Inter-nation and inter-nationality struggles are inherent in the capitalist organization of society. The struggle can be eliminated if society is reconstructed from a competitive to a

co-operative basis, i e on a socialist economic foundation

Capitalism is based on competition and production for profit. It, therefore, divides humanity into hostile nations, and nations into belligerent nationality groups and classes Socialism is based on co-operation and production for use. It, therefore, helps to integrate humanity into a co-operative community, establishes fraternal relations between nations as well as among nationalities. Under socialism, there are no capitalist groups within nations or nationalities, who, driven by the very iron law of competition and economic necessity, foment international and inter-nationality animosities among their peoples, using these animosities to serve their sectional interests such as the expansion of markets, the acquisition of sources of raw materials, and others. Free nationalities, organized on a socialist economic basis, enter into a voluntary union for the purpose of fraternal collaboration

Thus, socialism not only ends the subjection of one class by another within a nation or a nationality but also paves way for collaboration between nations and nationalities

The problem of minorities also can be completely solved only under the conditions of socialist national existence. A democratic constitution in a free India can guarantee civil liberties and other rights for minorities But under the conditions of the capitalist economic development of backward communities, their bourgeoisies and professional classes would be generally tempted to utilize the awakening of the masses of their communities in their mutual struggles over trading and industrial interests, and also jobs and posts. This was bound to generate communalism and communal hatred and conflicts in the country.

Socialism, which ends the class structure of society, ends sectional struggles among the bourgeoisie also and paves way for peaceful and co-operative relations between communities as between nations and nationalities

National independence for the Indian people, the right of self-determination to nationalities, and the establishment of a socialist economic system, were the prerequisites for a complete solution of the problem of nationalities and minorities.

'Even if imperialism were overthrown, the problem of over-coming the social forces which give rise to careerism or communalism has to be faced. It is here that socialism pre-

sents itself as the solution of the problem Democracy presents itself as inseparable from socialism It is here that the struggle against Indian capitalists and feudalists begins. The question of nationality is inseparable from existence It is a subsidiary problem of social revolution. It could not be dealt with in isolation from questions of the domination of capital. '[74]

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16 Graham, p 178
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60 Refer A Mehta and A Patwardhan, p 211
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EPILOGUE

Nationalism In India, Its Chief Phases

We have narrated the history of the rise of Indian nationalism, and seen how it was the product of the action and interaction of the numerous objective and subjective social forces and factors which evolved in the historical process during the British period. We have explained why the emotion of nationalism did not and could not evolve among the Indian people in the economic environs and cultural climate of pre-British India We have delineated the fundamental economic transformation of Indian society during the British period, which was one of the most important material prerequisites for welding the disunited Indian people into a single nation We have also assessed the specific weight and described the role of other factors like modern transport, new education, press, and others, in contributing towards the unification of the Indian people and in engendering a nationalist consciousness among them.

Indian nationalism passed through various phases of development. As it advanced from one phase to another its social basis broadened, its objective became more clearly defined and bold, and its forms of expression more varied. As a result of the impact of forces of Indian and world development, increasing strata of the Indian people evolved a national consciousness and outlook and were drawn into the orbit of the nationalist movement. This national awakening found expression in varied spheres of national life, social, political, cultural

Further, we have seen how the nationalist movement grew and gathered strength as new classes, offsprings of the new economic structure and living under the same state regime, finding their free and full development thwarted under the extant social and political conditions, increasingly organiz-

ed themselves on a national scale and started various movements to remove the obstacles impeding their growth

First Phase

In its first phase, Indian nationalism had a very narrow social basis. The intelligentsia who were the product of the modern education imparted in the new educational institutions, established by the British in India in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and who had studied western culture and greatly assimilated its democratic and nationalist ideas, formed the first stratum of the Indian society to develop a national consciousness and aspirations. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group of enlightened Indians were the pioneers of Indian nationalism They were the exponents of the concept of the Indian nation which they propagated among the people They initiated socio-reform and religio-reform movements which represented endeavours to remould the Indian society and religion in the spirit of the new principles of democracy, rationalism, and nationalism In fact, these movements were the expression of the rising national democratic consciousness among a section of the Indian people

These founders and first fighters of Indian nationalism stood up for democratic rights, such as the freedom of the Press, and put forth demands like the right of the nation to have a voice in the administration of the country.

Second Phase

The first phase extended till 1885 and culminated in the rise of the Indian National Congress in that year The second phase roughly covered the period from 1885 to 1905

The Liberal intelligentsia who were at the helm of the Congress were the leaders of the Indian nationalist movement during the second phase Their ideology and methods determined the programme and forms of the movement which reflected the interests of the development of the new bourgeois society in India The social basis of the movement was extended during this period to the educated middle class which, by the end of nineteenth century, had appreciably grown as a result of the expansion of modern education, and to a section of the merchant class which had developed during this

period as a result of the growth of Indian and international trade. Modern industries also grew steadily during this period as a result of which the class of industrialists emerged and began to gain strength They started orienting towards the Congress which adopted the programme of industrialization of the country and in 1905 organized actively the Swadeshi campaign

The Indian National Congress, under the leadership of the Liberals, mainly voiced the demands of the educated classes and the trading bourgeoisie such as the Indianization of Services, the association of the Indians with the administrative machinery of the state, the stoppage of economic drain, and others formulated in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress It also set forth such democratic demands as those of representative institutions and civil liberties Its methods of struggle dominated by Liberal conceptions were principally constitutional agitation, effective argument, and fervent appeal to the democratic conscience and traditions of the British people

Since the British government did not satisfy the most vital demands of the Indian nationalist movement, disillusionment set in among a section of the nationalists regarding the ideology and methods of the Liberals. A group, with a new philosophy, political ideology, and conception of the methods of struggle, crystallized within the Congress.

Increasing unemployment among the educated middle class youths due to the inability of the social and state apparatus to incorporate them and further, economic misery among the people due to devastating epidemics and famines at the close of the nineteenth century, created favourable conditions for the growth of the influence of the new group, the Extremists Various unpopular measures during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, such as the Indian Universities Act and the Partition of Bengal, further estranged the people from the government and made the politically conscious middle class rally round the Extremists who possessed such capable and self-sacrificing leaders as Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, B C Pal, and Lajpat Rai. By 1905, even some of the Liberals began to lose faith in the British government However, they did not renounce their political philosophy and methodology of struggle.

The ideology of the Extremists was, in vital respects, the antithesis of that of the Liberals

While the Liberals had a profound faith in the mission of Britain to raise the Indian people to a high level of progressive social, political, and cultural existence, the Extremists interpreted the British rule in India as the means of the British to keep the Indian people in a state of subjection and economically exploit them Further, while the Liberals glorified the western culture, the Extremists harked back to India's past, idealized the ancient Hindu culture and desired to resuscitate it.

Again the Extremists had no faith in the political efficacy of the Liberal method of appealing to British democracy. Instead, to secure a demand, they stood for organizing extra-parliamentary pressure on the government such as the Boycott campaign. The Extremists were also not satisfied merely with the demand of administrative reform but set forth the goal of self-government which was endorsed by the Liberals in 1906

Political discontent, during the second phase, also expressed itself in the growth of the terrorist movement A small section of nationalist youths organized themselves in terrorist bands and relied upon such methods as assassination of individual officials and sometimes fomenting of mutinies in the army for achieving political freedom.

Third Phase

The third phase in the development of the nationalist movement extended from 1905 to 1918 During this phase, the Liberals were supplanted by the Extremists as the leaders of the nationalist movement.

In spite of the strong government repression, the nationalist movement registered an advance. The political propaganda of the Extremists instilled a feeling of national self-respect and self-confidence among the people who, instead of looking to the British for political freedom as counselled by the Liberals, began to rely on their own strength for achieving it The movement, however, suffered from the defect that its leaders attempted to base it on a resurrected Hindu philosophy. This, to some extent, mystified the movement and weakened its secular character It was also one of the reasons why it could not appeal to the Muslims.

During the third phase, the Indian nationalist movement became militant and challenging, and acquired a wider social basis by the inclusion of sections of the lower-middle class The agitation for Home Rule during wartime further strengthened the political consciousness of the people

It was during this phase that sections of upper class Muslims developed political consciouness and founded their all-India political organization in 1906, the Muslim League Due to a number of reasons, the rising political consciousness of the Muslim upper and educated middle classes took a communal form, and resulted in the formation of their organization on a communal basis.

Fourth Phase

The fourth phase in the evolution of the Indian nationalist movement commenced from 1918 and extended roughly up to the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-4.

One striking development during this phase was that the nationalist movement gained a broad mass basis and added to its arsenal the weapon of direct mass action.

The nationalist movement, which was hitherto restricted mainly to upper and middle classes, further extended, during this phase, to sections of the Indian masses.

There were a number of factors which brought about national awakening among the Indian masses during the years immediately succeeding the war. The post-war economic crisis, the disillusionment about the government promises, and the increased repression by the state, had seriously affected the people including the peasantry and the working-class and they were in a state of great ferment

The great events in the international world such as, a number of democratic revolutions in European countries and the socialist revolution in Russia, had deeply stirred the consciousness of the Indian people. The Home Rule agitation during wartime also had the effect of intensifying and extending political consciousness among the Indian people The Treaty of Sevres had offended the Indian Muslims also creating thereby the pre-condition for a united nationalist mass movement

The Indian capitalists who had become economically stronger during the war as a result of industrial expansion,

also, more actively than before, supported the Indian National Congress and the N C O Movement started by the latter The Swadeshi and Boycott slogans of the Congress objectively served the interests of industrialists who financially supported it Gandhi's doctrine of class harmony and social peace and his support to the Swadeshi resolution at the Calcutta Congress in 1919 made sections of the Indian bourgeoisie support Gandhi, the Congress, and the nationalist movements organized by the Congress under Gandhi's leadership, from this time onward It was from 1918 that the Indian industrial bourgeoisie began to exert a powerful influence in determining the programme, policies, strategies, tactics, and forms of struggle, of the Indian nationalist movement led by the Congress of which Gandhi was the leader

Another development during this phase was the growth of socialist and communist groups in the country. By 1928, these groups succeeded in initiating independent political and trade union movements of the working class based on the doctrine of class struggle. They further stood for a socialist state of India declaring it as the objective of the Indian national movement While in the Non-Co-operation Movement, politically conscious workers, who participated in it, lacked an independent class programme, after 1926 those who joined movements like the Simon Commission Boycott and others did so with their own slogans and flag, and frequently under their own leaders Thus, after 1926, the Indian working class increasingly entered the nationalist movement as an independent political unit This was a new phenomenon in the history of the nationalist movement.

It was during this period that the Congress defined its political objective from the nebulous term Swaraj to that of Independence Various Youth and Independence Leagues which sprang up in the country also adopted Independence as their political goal.

Parallel to these developments, reactionary communal forces also began to organize themselves during this period The period witnessed a number of communal riots

The phase culminated in the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-4) organized by the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi It was the second mass movement in the history of Indian nationalism.

The principal gains to the Indian nationalist movement during this phase were the acquisition of a mass basis, the definition of its goal as Independence, the entry of a section of the working class into the movement as an independent political force, the growth of various Youth and Independence Leagues, and the wider participation of peasants in the movement. The factors which had a retarding influence on the movement were mainly, the combining of religion with politics by Gandhi with the result that the national consciousness was befogged and national movement confused, the increased grip of the capitalists over the Congress organization and the resultant modulation of its programme and policies to serve their sectional interest at the expense of national advance; and the accentuation of communal feelings

Fifth Phase

The next phase covers the period from 1934 to 1939, the year of the outbreak of World War II There were a number of new developments during this period A section of Congressmen lost their confidence in the ideology, programmes and methods of Gandhi and formed the Congress Socialist Party, which stood for the organization of the workers and peasants on class lines, and making them the motive force of the nationalist movement The party, however, remained heterogeneous, being composed of groups who broke from Gandhism in varying degrees and having a petti-bourgeois social basis There also grew up other dissident tendencies from Gandhism like the Forward Bloc led by Subhas Bose

Another development was the steady growth of the movements of the depressed classes The Muslim League also, organizationally and politically, grew stronger in the final years of this period Further, a number of other Muslim organizations, both of nationalist and communal political hues, also sprang up

The rapid growth of the Communist Party increasingly spreading its influence among students, workers, and kisans, also was another significant development.

The rapid growth of the peasant movement was one of the striking developments during this period Larger and larger sections of peasantry developed national and class cons-

ciousness Further, they began to evolve their own class organizations, class leadership, programmes, slogans, and flag Hitherto, the politically awakened peasants had followed the Congress leadership, henceforth, a large section of them followed its own leaders, put forth their own class demands including those of the abolition of landlordism itself and the repudiation of all debts. The All-India Kisan Sabha, the organization of the conscious section of the Indian peasantry, formulated for its objective the socialist state of India It organized independent struggles of the kisans and joined the nationalist movement as an independent unit.

Another remarkable development during this phase was the growth of the democratic struggle of the people of the Indian states with a programme of demands such as the abolition of state monopoly, representative institutions, civil liberties, and others The states' peoples' movement was mainly controlled by the merchant class of these states. The Indian National Congress supported and aided the struggle of the people of these states

Another development of importance during this period was the growing awakening among the nationalities constituting the Indian people.

This awakening was reflected in their demand of the reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis. The movements of such nationalities as the Andhras, the Oriyas, the Karnatakis, and others, which had awakened to life and which felt and expressed the urge to be integrated into distinct political administrative zones based on common language, revealed this new development

The rise of an independent kisan movement, the growth of socialist forces, the movements of awakened nationalities, and other developments, however, still represented only minority tendencies within the nationalist movement. The national movement still remained essentially determined and dominated by the Gandhian outlook and Gandhi's political philosophy and leadership It still, in the main, reflected the interests of the capitalists and other upper classes

However, the new forces and movements had begun to exert some pressure on the Indian National Congress as a result of which the latter included in its programme a charter of fundamental rights guaranteeing civil liberties and allevia-

tory economic measures to the workers and peasants. The Indian National Congress, the premier national organization in the country and the principal leader of the nationalist movement, also recognized the cultural and other aspirations of awakened nationalities, stood for cultural autonomy and linguistic provinces and even recognized the right of the populations of the provinces reconstituted on the linguistic basis to secede from the Indian Federation of the future free India if they so desired.

However, a struggle, increasingly sharpening, went on among the various social classes within the nationalist movement for the hegemony of the movement. The political groups representing workers, kisans, and left sections of the middle classes, were striving more and more, as they gathered more political consciousness and independent organizational strength, to influence the programme and policies of the Congress which had hitherto been appreciably controlled by the capitalist class. The awakened nationalities were also pressing more and more vigorously their demands for the removal of the obstacles which thwarted their free and full development.

Perspective

The influx of new social forces with increasingly growing consciousness in the nationalist movement and their pressure on the leadership, however, did not weaken the movement. It brought more dynamic energy to the movement. Whether in the next stage, the Indian nationalist movement would be controlled by the capitalist class mainly rejecting its views and interests as it had hitherto happened or its leadership would pass to the new social classes making the movement express the interests of these classes as also the cultural and other aspirations of nationalities and minority groups, would be largely determined by the objective developments both in the Indian and international worlds and by the relation of forces of these classes and groups and the level of their consciousness and organizational strength.

In this context, we will finally reproduce the following prognosis which we made during the intra-war period in the First Edition of the book.

"However, considering that the Indian capitalist class ap-

preciably added to its economic and social strength during the period of the Present World War II and is led by a group of politicians who possess great experience and consummate political and strategic talent, in contrast to the awakened lower layers of the Indian society who are culturally backward, organizationally weaker, and politically less conscious than the bourgeoisie, and further, are led by groups of persons smaller in political stature and experience, it is very likely that, in its immediate next stage, the Indian nationalist movement will be dominated by and made to subserve the interests of the capitalist class.

"The direction of development of Indian history and the nationalist movement, in the next phase led by and subserving the interests of the capitalist class, can be broadly indicated

"The first feature of this development will be the working out of the policy of 'Concessions and Counterpoise' by British Imperialism on a much grander scale in the changed historical situation, to win over increased sections of the vested interests for its support, and also to stimulate more bitter rivalries among them to its advantage This will result in a more intensified struggle among these sections and will accentuate communalism and interprovincial antagonisms

"The second feature of the development will consist in that the leaders of the vested interests will oppose mass movements of the lower strata of the population or will distort and canalize these movements for gaining concessions from British Imperialism as well as from sectional rivals.

"Constitutionalism, sharpened communalism, accentuated interprovincial rivalries, and opposition to or increased distortion of growing mass struggles by the leaders of the vested interests are likely to be the principal characteristics of the next phase of Indian development"

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